SOCIOLOGY OF
NAMES AND NICKNAMES
OF
INDIA
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
KASHMIR

NICKNAMES

R. K. KAUL

Study of Indic names is full of fascination for a zealous investigator. The convention of bestowing names in India has its roots in remote past. Its study is inextricably confused by considerations of race and caste.

The institution of surnames, though a later addition to Indian names, is a panorama of fascination as well as complications.

Nicknames in India in general, and in Kashmir in particular, have been developed and nourished to their possible ends. Present Kashmiri surnames are almost cent per cent specimen of Nicknames. Though, often they are, repulsive and abnoxious, yet their utility as individualising elements and marks of identification cannot be ignored.

NAMES AND NICKNAMES

SOCIOLOGY OF NAMES
AND
NICKNAMES OF INDIA
(*With Special Reference to Kashmir*)

R. K.]

Foreworded by
DR. KARAN SINGH

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to the
inspiring memory
of
Late M. D. Fauq and Anand Koul
the pioneers in the field

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FOREWORD

Dr. Karan Singh
Member of Parliament
(*Lok Sabha*)

3 Nyaya Marg
Chanakyapuri
New Delhi-110 021
Tel: 375291

"What's in a name?" asks a famous character in Shakespeare. The answer, as we are increasingly realizing, is "a great deal". Linguistic studies in many parts of the world have shown that names in fact carry a wealth of sociological information, and reveal much more than is visible on the surface.

With our rich linguistic and cultural heritage, a study of Indian names can be a most rewarding exercise. Shri R. K. Koul has undertaken a study of some Indian names with special reference to Kashmir. His work will be of considerable interest, not only to the specialist but also to the general reader.

Karan Mahal,
Srinagar
June 17, 1981

(*Sd*) Karan Singh

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PREFACE

Very little attention of Indologists and historians has gone to the study of Names of ancient Indians. This obscure zone of Indology holds a fruitful promise for a dedicated and zealous investigator. Naming, though a linguistic exercise, was predominated by religious sentiments in ancient India. Hindu Law givers and other sacred texts have discussed the sacrament of Name giving in all its details. Minutest directions as to how many vowels and consonants a male name or a female name may possess have been given. Different kinds of names have been prescribed for different 'Varnas'. Adoption of native names was strictly forbidden for Aryans and the aboriginal names were corrupted by a ruthless process of Sanskritization to conform to the imaginary etymology. Thus the non-Aryan names preserved in ancient Hindu texts do not possess any indigenous characteristics: "whatever convention the Pre-Aryans may have followed in naming their children, it is now lost, and little may be guaged from the aboriginal names that survive in the Sanskrit texts." Whatever restrictions and directions were the guiding principles for selection of a name for a Hindu child in the past, the present day Indians are no longer strictly atavistic.

The usage of surnames is a later development in India. Although a *gotra* system was prevalent in ancient India, yet its use as a modern surname did not prevail at all. The institution of surname developed with the coming of foreigners in India. In Kashmir, the sur

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names, in the form of nicknames, got fully established during Muslim and Sikh rule. They survive now as 'KRAM' names.

Kashmiris excel in the art of giving nicknames. They have exploited all sources to develop new and newer nicknames. Their ardent love for nicknames have made them to own even most repulsive and abnoxious varieties of nicknames. They have, however, used them with advantage as marks of identification and individualisation.

Efforts have been made to analyse all facets of names and nicknames of India in general and those of Kashmir in particular, in this book. References from original as well as secondary sources have been provided. Comments and suggestions from the esteemed readers would be most welcome.

R. K. KOUL

Kendriya Vidyalaya No. 1
Srinagar (Jammu and Kashmir)

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CHAPTER IV

CONSPECTUS

The book consists of five chapters and four appendices. The chapters have been numbered with Roman alphabets from A to E. Every chapter is further subdivided into sections and sub-sections. Indo-Arabic numerals have been used for numbering of these sections and sub-sections. Appendices have also been numbered with Indo-Arabic numerals.

Chapter A discusses the usage of personal names. Chapter B describes the evolution and usage of surnames in India. Chapter C consists of a discussion of Kashmiri surnames. Chapter D examines the evolution and usage of nicknames in Kashmir. Chapter E throws light on the personal and surnames of Kashmiri Muslims.

Appendix 1 lists some representative male personal names of medieval and ancient Kashmir and Appendix 2 catalogues a few specimen female personal names of ancient Kashmir. Appendix 3 consists of some exclusive *Gor* surnames and its second part is a collection of certain exclusive *Bohra* surnames. Appendix 4 describes some common surnames of Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims and its second part is consisted of a few exclusive Kashmiri Muslim surnames.

CHAPTER A
PERSONAL NAMES

1 Genesis

All the creatures in this world have a language or a medium for communicating their thoughts and feelings to each other. The cries and sounds of birds and animals are understood by their fellow-beings. A horse's neigh, cow's low, cat's mew, lion's roar or a jackal's houl are intelligible to other members of their species. Man is the crown of creation. God has made man after his own image. In the earliest period of his development man used a symbolic language and with the help of signs and gestures communicated his thoughts and feelings to other beings of his own species. Accordingly with the gradual development of medium of expression man began to identify things around him and expressed his thoughts and feelings by means of his tongue 'भावयतेकथयतिअन्याइतिभाषा' 'Max Muller, a renowned orientalist said, "Language is nothing but a contrivance devised by human skill for the most expeditious communication of thoughts and who would wish to see it treated, not as a production of nature but simply a work of human art."[1]

2 Origin

The gradual identification of objects, animate or inanimate, by man gave birth to what we call the NAMES of these objects. Thus the continuous and repeated use of a word or wordgroup for individualising a certain object became its name in the society. A name may, therefore, roughly be defined a word or a small group of words indicating a particular entity in the entirety without necessarily or essentially indicating any special quality of entity.[2] Name of an object makes us familiar with that object. Names are, therefore, the words used to identify and distinguish individuals. Accordingly, the name is a medium of direct contact

between an individual and the society as it distinguishes
a person or an object from others of the same class.
Name is a powerful instrument of convenience invented
by man. It does not work only in a civilised society
but even the tamed animals immediately respond to
it mechanically. Ask the efficacy and usefulness of a
name to a stranger who was struggling to get his leg
out of the powerful jaws of a furious dog, who on hear-
ing 'Moti' from his master, immediately left the stranger
and began to lick the feet of the master. Shabdha
Kalpadramu defines a name thus, स्नायते अभ्यस्ते यत् यत्².

2.1. Categories

Names do not always present a pleasent experience.
An instant irritation is caused when we call a person by
a name which he does not like for one or the other
reasons. It works like a needle prick and the person,
not only a man but even an animal, is in a state of madness
and behaves as if under a lunatic fit. On the other
hand if we call an ordinary man by a pleasing name
elevating his social or official status, we get immediate
response of all help and friendship. Consciously or
unconsciously, therefore, we have created different
categories of names, pleasant and unpleasant; respectful
and disrespectful, holy and unholy, awkward and non-
awkward, normal and abnormal. This large number
of names has compelled man to use his wisdom and
judgement to select suitable one for his own self and
other beings. This process of selecting a name was
primarily a linguistic exercise but, as in other spheres
of human activity, with the gradual predominance of
religion the name giving, christening, namakaran, or
with what term we may call it, ceremony assumed
great religious importance (See Sec. A 92 and A 93).

3 Dissimilarity

Personal names reflect the socio-religious as well as
linguistic traditions of a particular region. Names in

Europe, Africa and other non-Indian areas are remarkably different from the names commonly found in the Indian sub-continent. These are not identical even in different regions of a particular country. A striking difference is noticed between a North Indian and a South Indian, a Muslim and a Hindu, and a Christian and a Parsee name in India. Names do not differ in appearance and meaning only but in their syntax and usage also.

4 Given Names

From the beginning of civilization a child has been receiving a name after it is born and welcomed in the society. Names have a special significance, perhaps describing the child's appearance or expressing high hopes of the parents for the future of their child. In the beginning every individual had only one name which is sometimes called as 'Personal name', 'Given name' or 'Christian name.' This one name served the purpose of the individualisation and identification very well as the number of people in a particular region or cultural group was very limited and lived in a splendid isolation.[4]

"Given names are usually drawn from some older language. For example, from Hebrew comes Benjamin; from Greek, Andrew; from Latin, Amy; from German, Albert, from the Celtic, Donald; from the Anglo-Saxon, Alfred. Originally these names had a meaning. A girl born during a famine was sometimes called Una (Celtic for famine). A golden haired blonde might be called Flavia (Latin for yellow) or Blanche (French for white). Mercy and patience (used by puritans), David (beloved), Susan (lily), Deborah (bee), Margret (pearl) are other examples."[5]

4.1. Naga Names

Sources of names in India have been diverse and varied. But Sanskrit language and literature have served as an unending treasury of names for almost all Indians including ancient Kashmiris. Name giving

among Hindus is a very ancient practice but its critical appreciation is obscured by a chain of complexities like caste, creed, sex, race and language. During earlier settlement of Aryans in India, and later in the valley of Kashmir, the local (non-Aryan) names were fanatically sanskritized by Hindu name makers to conform to their imaginary etymology.[6] A study of names of ancient Kashmir reveals that they were derived mainly from the Sanskrit language, the language of learned and elite. Some of the selected few from a huge stock of such names are Vasugupta, Kallata, Somananda, Utpala, Rama Kantha, Laksmanagupta, Bhaskar, Abhinavagupta, Bhatta Narayana, Ksemraja, Srikantha, Yogaraja, Narayan Kantha, Bhatta Vamadeva, Subhatta and Jaya- ratha etc. (see appendix). It will not be out of place to mention here some of the non-Aryan names of some Nagas preserved in Nilamata Purana. They are:

Ajakarna, Asvakarna, Vidyunmali, Darimukha, Orana, Rocana, Hasi, Naratana, Gayana, Kambhata, Subhata, Bahuputra, Nisacara, Magura, Kokila, Trata, Malaya, Yavanapriya, Kotapala, Mahipala, Gopala, Patalasuci, Rajadhiraja, Vinata, Svarga, Vimalaka, Mani, Chakrahasta, Suli, Pasi, Saga, Naga Citrakara, Vatsa, Bakapati, Sitarta, Yavamali, Ravana, Raksasakrti, Yajva, Datta, Hota, Bhokta and Bhogapati.[7]

अजकर्णोश्वकर्णश्च विद्युन्माली दरीमुखः ।
ओराणो रोचनो हासी नर्तनी गायनस्तथा ॥
कम्भाटश्च सुभाटश्च बहुपुत्रो निशाचरः ।
मयूरः कोकिलस्त्राता मलयो यवनप्रियः ॥
कोटपालो महीपालः गोपालः पटलशुचिः ॥
राजाधिराजो विनतः स्वर्गों विमलको मणि ॥
चक्रहस्तो गदाहस्तः शूलीपाशी सगस्तथा ।
नागश्चित्रकरो वत्सो वत्सोवकपतिस्तथा ।
शीतार्तों यवमालीच रावणे रङ्गसाकृतिः ।
यज्ञादाता तथा होता भोक्ता भोगपतिस्तथा ॥

While going through the above mentioned Naga names we should not forget the fact that these names are spoken by a Brahmin well-versed in Sanskrit language and have come to us through a famous Sanskrit work. We should not, therefore, be astonished to find a very little, nay a very negligible dissimilarity between these Naga names and other Aryan names. As a matter of fact they have been allowed to survive to this day only in a sanskritized form. Thus leaving very little scope to know the real morphology and meaning of aborigine names of Kashmir. Had a little tolerance been shown to present these names in their true aborigine from it would have thrown open new vistas of research on very dark zones of Indology. We should not blame the author of Nilamata Purana only in this context. Almost all the Sanskrit works including the Mahabharata have presented all the aborigine characters, whether it be Naga, Pisaca, Madra, Nisada, Raksasa, Daitya or latest Yavanas in a sanskritized form. As a matter of fact, names undergo interesting changes when they are translated from one language to another. "Henry (Teutonic, head of the house) became Harry, Hal, Henri (French) Heinrich (German), Enrico (Italian) Hendrick (Danish), Jacob (Hebrew), a supplanter becomes James, Jacques (French), Giacom (Italian), Diego and Jaime (Spanish), John (Hebrew, gift of God) becomes Johannes (Latin), Hans (German), Jean (French) Giovanni (Italian)."[8]

4.2. Local Influence

Similarly the Sanskrit names like Govinda, Vishnu, Shiva, Suriya, Darshana, Ishwara, Kashi, Nila Kantha, Tilaka, Chidambhara, Sarvananda, Parmananda, Sudhama, Hari, Kailasha, Vasudeva, Deva, Gangadhara, Ganesha, Bhavani Das and Bhagvandas were changed beyond recognition when used in spoken Kashmiri. Their present form is *Goondu, Veshnu, Shevu, Siriyu, Dashu, Ishu, Kaashee, Kaantha, Teluk, Chedu, Sarvu Paru, Sodhu, Haru, Kalas, Vasu, Divu, Bhog, Bhonu*

etc. Same change has taken place in female Sanskrit names. Thus, Jaimala has become *Zaimal*, Ganga has taken the form of *Ganguj*, Lakshmi became *Lakhim*, Bhavani was changed into *Bhoni*, Yashmala became *Veshir* and Pushpa became *Poosh* in the day-to-day spoken language. Muslim names, which are mainly derived from Arabic, Persian and other Islamic literature have also not been able to keep their original form unaltered. Accordingly Sultan became *Sulu*, Mohammed became *Momu*, Ahmad took the form of *Amu*, Rasool became *Rosul*, Khadeeja became *Khatij*, Al Khaliq became *Khalu*, Ibrahim became *Ibu* and Al Majeed became *Maju*.

4.3. Fancy of Authors

Moreover the whims and fancies of different authors have played a great role in giving a definite character and shape to a particular name. After all what are the reasons behind the fact that almost all the sons of Dhritrashtra are having very repulsive and abnoxious names? Is it that there was no Sanskrit scholar of good taste present at the Royal Court of Kaurvas? Ancient names used to be very beautiful and full of meaning. The name Dhritrashtra itself is a very wonderful name meaning a person capable of shouldering the responsibility of a nation. Moreover the Pandavas, the cousins of Dhritrashtras sons, possess very beautiful and pleasing names. So the phenomenon of Kaurava names is not only puzzling but intriguing too. Vyasa seems to have expressed his anger and displeasure with Kauravas by deliberately mutilating and disfiguring their names.[9] This bigotory and jealousy is not peculiar to the author of the great epic Mahabharata only, even in other kinds of literature and folk tales we find villains being called with such names which even an ordinary person would not give to his children. Munshi Prem Chand a celebrated Hindi writer, seems to have been very critical of the role of Pandits and Purohits in Hindu society. Perusal of his important works would unveil a

character *Mote Ram Shastary* who happens to be highly
ignorant of Shastaras with a large belly, clumsy appea-
rance and greedy look in his eyes. Therefore, any
person in possession of above characteristics is even
now called *Mote Ram.* Similarly Sarat Chandra's
Devdas has become an immortal figure and any love-
sick man indifferent to his person is called by the name
of *Deva Dasa.* More recently a thug and a cheat who
befooled both police and public many times has made
people to call any person (possessing above mentioned
traits) as *Natwarlal.* We in Kashmir even now call a
person as *Mahadev Bisht* if he displays any trait of the
courageous and benevolent thief. Such names have,
however, never served as a source of christening but
are on the other hand very powerful agencies of nick
names (Details in Chapter D).

5. Sources

As stated above the sources of Hindu names have
been many and varied. *Dronacharya* the famous
Pandava Guru was named *Drona* because he was
found as an abandoned child in a Drona (i.e. bucket).
Bhisma acquired his name after he took a severe vow of
life long celibacy. A sage named his disfigured son as
Ashtavakra because all his eight limbs were in a dis-
figured shape. Well-known heroine of Ramayana and
beloved wife of *Sri Rama* was called *Sita* because she
was found under the earth. Her other name was *Janaki*
because she was the daughter of the Great Janka. A
sage, being an ardent lover of dogs and their tails,
named his three sons as *Shunashep*, *Shunapucha* and
Shunolangul. These names were symbolic of a dog's
tail. May be the nature of the sons resembled that
of a dog or its curved tail.

5.1. Totemism

Ancient Hindus held firm belief in totemism.
Accordingly Aryan families and clans were named

after some animal, plant or an inanimate object. "From
Aja, 'goat' comes the name of Aja, a tribe mentioned
in the Rigveda; *Asva*, 'horse' is the root of such names
as *Asvapati* and *Asvathama* (Asvani Kumar) and also
of *Svetasvatara*, 'White seed', the title of an Upani-
shada, '*Bharadvaja*', 'Skylark' is the totemic name
of a celebrated Rishi family; from '*Chhagla*' 'goat',
is derived Chhagaleya, the name of Vedic teacher and
also of an Upanishad now extinct in its sanskrit form;
from '*Gotma*', 'bull' come the names of several well-
known sages; and from '*Haya*', 'horse' are derived the
names Haihaya, a tribe, and *Hayagriva*, a godling;
'*Ibha*', 'elephant' is the totem of Ibhya, a village
people mentioned in the *Chhandogyaupanishada;* from
'*Kausika*', 'owl' comes Kausitaki, the name of an Upa-
nishad and from '*Kachhapa*', 'tortoise' comes the name
of Kasyapa, a Maharishi; '*Kshudraka*', a variety of
gadfly gives its name to a *Gana*, or clan, of ancient
India; '*Kikura*', '<u>dog</u>' were a tribe associated with the
Vrishnis along the Yamuna; *Malava*, a white flowering
plant, is said to give the name to the *Malava* tribe;
from Manduka, 'frog', comes the title of the *Mandu-
kyaupanishada*; from '*Matanga*', 'elephant' the name
of a pre-Mauryan dynasty of Maghda; '*Matsya*', 'fish'
is the name of an important tribe in Hindu Mythology;
and *Mayura*, 'peacock' the origin of the name of
Mauryan-dynasty; from '*Mudgala*', a kind of a fish,
is derived the name of a rishi; '*Maushika*', 'rat', may be
the origin of an ancient Indian tribe known to the Greeks
as the Musicani; '*Naga*', 'snake' is the name of an an-
cient people, and is still used as a 'surname' by Hindus
of Eastern India, '*Nakula*', 'Ichneumari', was the name
of Pandava Prince; from *Pipal*, a kind of fig tree comes
the name of Pippalada, the founder of a vedic school;
'*Riksha*', 'bear' is the name of a Rishi family to which
Samvarana belonged; from '*Sakla*', a species of snake
comes the name of Sakalya, a teacher who founded a
Rig-vedic Sakha; from '*Sardula*', a 'tiger' comes
Sardunya, the rishi after whom a now lost *Sama-Veda*

sakha was named; 'Sigru', a plant, possibly the horse-raddish, gave the name to a people mentioned in the Rigveda, 'Simha', 'lion' gives its name to Sinha, and Singh; the name Hathisingh (elephant-lion) is used by certain classes of Punjabi Hindus, from 'Sukti', 'oyster', comes the name Suktimati, capital of Chedi, 'Sunaka', a 'dog' gives the name to Sunaka, a famous vedic grammarian; a sage mentioned in the Chhandogyaupanishada who imparted secret knowledge to a student, was called Sunaka Kapeya, a dog-monkey, 'Titira', 'partridge' gives its name to the Taittiriya Upanishada; and 'Vatsa', 'calf' to the Vatsa tribe of the Ganga-Jamuna confluence, with capital at Kausambi."[10]

5.2. Personal Beliefs

Sometimes wrong ideas and blind faith of a certain parent gives birth to a very awkward and unusual name. Such names become life-long burden for their owners and they feel crushed under a terrific psychological burden. Names are after all a reflection of one's personality. A recent survey conducted by University of Columbia has shown that a person's satisfaction with his name coincides with his approval of the kind of person he judges himself to be. Seen Thornton, a Dublin Psychologist, says that a person who does not like his first name tends to find faults in himself. An unusual name is a social handicap and the owners of such names face more troubles in adjusting to the pressures of every day life than their more conveniently named colleagues. Our strong emotional reaction when our name is honoured, mis-spelled or slighted, shows how closely—often right out of proportion—we identify name with self. Forget a person's name when he expects you to recall it, and you arouse resentment. All of us, at one time or another, have committed this embarrassing social blunder; and psychologists believe that we are more likely to forget the names of people we unconsciously dislike, so perhaps resentment is justified.[11]

6 Western Approach

Shakespeare, Kalidasa of English literature, does not attach much significance to a name. He considers a name only as a removable appendage. Name is not the self. The owner of a certain name, however awkward or beautiful it may be, cannot change or modify his essential characteristics. Name is a superfluous stamp marked on the self of a man and is not at all an identity of the character of its owner. Change of name does not guarantee any qualitative change in a man. After all, what is in a name ? The following conversation between Juliet and Romeo express the Shakespearian views more clearly : " Juliet—O, Romeo, Romeo! wherefore art thou Romeo? Deny thy father and refuse thy name, or if thou will not, be but sworn my love, And I will no longer be a capulet. Romeo— (Aside) shall I hear more or shall I speak at this?... Juliet—'This but thy name that is my enemy; thou art thyself, though not a Montague. What's Montague? It is not hand, nor foot, nor arm, nor face, nor any other part belonging to a man. O, be some other name; what's in a name ? that which we call a rose. By any other name would smell as sweet, so Romeo would, were he not Romeo call'd, Retain that dear perfection which he owes. Without that title Romeo, doff thy name. And thy name which is not part of thee. Take all myself. Romeo—I take at thy word: call me but love, and I'll be new baptized, Henceforth I will never be Romeo"[12].

6.1. Indian Approach

But contrary to above, the Indian literators have attached a great significance to a name. Phrases and idioms like 'to earn a name', 'to bring a name', 'to shine one's name', etc., are found in abundance in all Indian languages. Pages of Indian history bear testimony to the fact that many a bloody battle was fought only either to make a name or to save a name. To save the

honour and dignity of his clan name (*Raghukul*) Lord *Rama* gladly accepted the 14 years painful exile. To make one's name to perpetuate after one's death thousands of Hindus have undergone severe penances and sacrifices to have a son to keep alive their name. This phenomenon (Putraichha) perhaps, has contributed more to the subjugation of women in Hindu society, than any other. Hindus generally believe that only a '*Putra*', 'son' can perpetuate the name of the family; and only he delivers the father from hell as it means in Sanskrit i.e., *Put* (Hell) plus *ira* (Deliverer). Even at the funeral the *Pinda* ceremony is performed by the son in a family. A daughter is considered as '*Paraya-dhana*'. One of the major causes for the inferior status granted to women in our society is the exaggerated emphasis on the role of the '*Putra*', 'son' to the exclusion of the daughter in functions and ceremonies. It is also because of this custom that daughters are treated as second class members of the family and are subjected psychologically to a shabby treatment by being given the feeling of not being essential and easily dispensable.[13]

A name, once given to a person, in due course of time becomes an essential and irremovable facet of his person. "American comedian Will Rogers knew well how important names are to their owners. Challenged by a friend at a White House reception to make the Sedate President Calvin Coolidge smile. Rogers shook hands with the President, leaned over and murmured casually, 'Pardon me I didn't catch the name'. He was rewarded by a surprise guffaw from Coolidge.'[14]

6.2. Numerology

Numerologists believe that names can bring good fortune as well as bad to their owners. Eskimos, when old, adopt new names to 'take a new lease on life.' In some Eastern societies seriously ill patients are given new names by their relatives as a ruse to cheat the Angel of death.

We can quote a number of instances where agitations have been launched to re-name the cities, states, villages, hospitals and other institutions. In most of such cases people have either demanded to revive the old names or to perpetuate the memory of a saint, leader, social worker etc., attach his name to a public institution. This clearly demonstrates the emotional attachment of an individual or society to a certain name.

6.3. Trade

The importance and influence of names have been felt more in the world of trade and industry than in any other sector of human activity. Brand names are being imitated every now and then and hundreds of cases of litigations are finding their way to the courts of law in every part of world. After British withdrawal from India a number of Brand names were sold at a very high cost to the Indian successors of British companies. These names had won the public esteem and approval during their long period of existence in this country.

7 Wrong Pronunciation

Very amusing situations arise when deliberately or otherwise a name is mis-spelt or wrongly pronounced. This author had to face a few embarrassing moments in one of the towns of Punjab when he addressed a certain gentleman (having his surname written as 'Makkar' on the name plate) as 'Mr Makkar' which in the vernacular means a 'cunning man'. In reality the surname of this particular gentleman is pronounced as 'Makkad' (मकड़). The embarrassment caused to a lady addressed as Mrs Fool instead of Mrs Phoola was really a painful experience both for the addressee and the addresser, the former being ignorant of Kashmiri practices and the latter having failed to bear the burden of sarcastic smile of the bearer of the letter. An irritated young man, recently wrote a strong worded

letter to the editor of a news paper complaining that his
name has been intentionally mis-spelt. His name
appeared as Mr. Miecziplaws Dzesdosz while his actual
name was Mieczrlaws Dziadosz. He bitterly comp-
lained that his friends were asking him if he had changed
his name. Such amusing but awkward situations are
created more often when a local name is transliterated
in a foreign language or vice versa. In my article on
'Kashmiri names', I had mentioned the name of much
reverred hermitess '*Lallashawari*', which, to my ama-
zement was later translated into Hindi as हरमेत्त्लाल्शेर
(i.e. Harmet the red lion). I have no hesitation
in confessing that, in spite of being a student of world
history, the Chinese and the West Asian names have
often confused me. Similarly, South Indian names
(full form) are a strange phenomenon for any North
Indian. Europeans have more than once expressed
their displeasure at the appearance and pronunciation
of Indian names. An irritated middle-aged English
lady once came with an unusual complaint to Mr Nehru
for in one of the communications she was addressed as
Mr. instead of Mrs. To quote Mr. Mathai 'while we
were in London in 1948, a member of the small staff
from the Indian High Commission attached to the
Prime Minister reported to me that a middle aged
English woman had arrived at the hotel (Claridges)
requesting a meeting with some one connected with
Prime Minister Nehru. She was shown in. She in-
troduced herself as Margaret Cholomondeley. She
had come with a letter written to her by a man called
Ramamrittan (Rao Saheb), an Assistant Secretary in
the Ministry of External Affairs. The letter was in
reply to a communication she had addressed to the
Prime Minister on Kashmir. She had a serious com-
plaint about that letter because she was addressed as
"Mr Margaret Cholmondeley." She had a further
complaint that the name "Ramaritham" was too much
of a mouthful. I was somewhat annoyed and numbled

to myself "as if her's is not." I told her that Raman-rithan was an oldman who had never travelled abroad, so he could not distinguish female names from male ones. I asked her if she could say whether "Lakshmi Kanthamma Reddy" was a male or a female name. She said 'No'. I told her that almost all Indian names had meanings and they sounded musical to Indians. I asked her if I call you "Miss Chumley won't you be agreeably surprised." She said, "you are the first Indian who has pronounced my name correctly." I told her that, "we in India are used to phonetic languages. We pronounce according to the spelling. English is an illogical language though a sublime one and some of your names are baffling to foreigners. I happen to know personally a Lord Cholomondeley in London who has a valet called Bottomley who created complications by changing the pronunciation to Bumley. But for this knowledge, I would not have been able to pronounce your name correctly." Then I told her how an Indian name helped in the escape of three Indians from Germany after Hitler had seized power. Mr A. C. N. Nambiar was informed by his German friends that Hitler's S.S. were after him and two other Indians and they should hasten to escape to Switzerland. Nambiar took the advice, collected the two Indians and left Berlin. As they came within a few yards of the Swiss border, an S. S. Captain arrived from nowhere and stopped them. He lined them up asking questions in English. First came a Bengali who was voluble and argumentative individual.

S. S. Captain:	Name ?
Bengali:	Basu
S. S. Captain:	Christian name ?
Basu:	There is no such thing in India
S. S. Captain:	(*shouting*) Christian name ?
Basu:	Tarapada

S. S. Captain:	Catholic or Protestant?
Basu:	There is no such thing in India
S. S. Captain: (*Furious*)	Catholic or Protestant?
Basu:	Protestant

Next came A. C. N. Nambiar who knew German well.

S. S. Captain:	Name?
Nambiar:	Nambiar
S. S. Captain:	Christian Name?
Nambiar:	Araththil Candeth Narayan
S. S. Captain:	Catholic or Protestant?
Nambiar:	Catholic

Bengali (*intervening*): He is no Catholic

S. S. Captain (*Angry*): Do you know punishment for lying?

Nambiar: I shall explain. If you look at the map of Europe you will see all the northern countries are predominantly protestant and the southern countries are predominantly catholic. This is the result of Reformation. Mr Basu comes from northern India, that is how he is protestant. I come from the south of India, that is why I am a catholic

S. S. Captain: (*impressed*) You must be a Brahmin.

Nambiar: Yes, (*Actually he is a non-Brahmin*)

Last came the Telugu Brahmin who was smart.
S. S. Captain: Name?

Telugu Brahmin: Prathivadibhayankaram
                    Thiruvenkatesh   Warayya
                    Pantulu Garu.

The S. S. Captain was flabbergasted. He looked around and made sure that no S. S. man was spying on him. Then he said, "Go, I will never be able to write this". All the three walked over to the safety of Switzerland.

I also told her how an Indian name created temporary estrangement between a husband and a wife. The story relates to Alladi Krishna Swami Aiyar, the renowned lawyer of Madras. On the day he was knighted by the British in India, the lawyer told his wife in Tamil, "Nee Lady Alladi"! This lent itself to two meanings. The lawyer meant "You are Lady Alladi." The wife understood the other meaning "You are no lady." The immediate result can be imagined.

I also told her that the British had to unlearn many things and learn new things. I reminded her that it was only recently that an Englishman returned from a visit to Egypt and made the revelation that the Mediterranian Sea was south of the African Continent because he saw that the Nile was flowing into the Mediterranian at the Alexandria. He could not conceive of any river flowing other than the South because he was used to the Thames flowing South"![15]

7.1 Foreign Names

Very often a particular foreign name having a ridiculous meaning in a local language gives rise to instant laughter and guffow much to the embarrassment of the owner of the name. Recalling an incident Khushwant Singh states that he had "an embarrassing encounter with a distinguished Swede, A Mr. Lund (very common name in Scandinavia) who was due to visit India. After a few drinks I got courage to tell him that he should not be upset if Northern Indians smiled or sniggered at being introduced to him and

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explained what his name meant in Hindustani. He was most amused and told me that he had not long before escorted an Indian lady called Miss Dass and had to introduce her to various audiences. 'Why should that have embarrassed you?' I asked him. "Because in Swedish the word 'dass' means 'shit' replied Mr. Lund."[16]

8 Bawdy Names

The selection of a name is a critical matter. Final choice should rest with the person who has to own it. Parents may give a temporary name which its incumbent should be entitled to throw away as it sheds milk teeth and choose another which he fancies. Only he or she who has to live with a particular name should have the right to choose it. There is a bawdy story about a man who lost all his children soon after they were born. On the advice of a learned Pandit he decided to give his future children ugly and obscene names, believing the God doesn't mouth obscenities and will not send for them. Accordingly, he named his next son as 'penis' and his daughter as 'vagina'. He also named his goat kid as 'buttocks'. The advice worked and the three lived in good health. Obscene climax of the story reached at the nuptials of the girl and her mother's pleading with her son-in-law to be considerate towards her 'vagina' daughter. The stunned son-in-law ran out of the house and his father-in-law pursued him pleading that he was as dear to him as his own 'penis' (son) and if he came back he would slaughter (Hindi word Maro) the 'buttock' (Goat kid) to feast him.[17]

Bawdy and awkward names were usually given to ensure the safety of child from ghosts and ghouls. But sometimes they reflect desparate mood of parents. A couple to whom seventh daughter was born named her as 'Kshemeshwari' (i.e. they begged for mercy of God to stop the chain of daughters to come to them.)

Funniest climax, of naming of a child according to the parent's high hopes for the child's future, reaches when the child comes out to be quite contrary to the hopes embodied in the name. Imagine the plight of blind man bearing the name '*Nainsukh*' or '*Lakhnaina*'. A tall, thin and fragile man named 'Pahalwan Singh' was a source of amusement and frolic for anybody to whom he got introduced. Similarly a very timid and a coward man had been christened as 'Sher Singh' and even a cat's mew would make him to shiver terribly. A boy was called '*Rogadhaman Lal*' but hardly a day passed when the unfortunate boy was not under the attack of one or the other disease. 'Appearances are deceptive' hold its good in the world of names also. A 'muscleman' with long moustaches was employed by a money lender to safeguard him against miscreants at the time of need. He was very well fed on meat, milk, curd and butter. But when the time of action reached the man was found hiding under a '*Charpoye*'. He was asked as to why he hid himself and of what use his long moustaches were. Prompt came the reply, "Sir, don't blame my moustaches, even cats possess long moustaches, are they to be called lions?"

9.1 Importance

Names have, however, not always been drawn out of unusual sources or the whims and fancies of parents only. Christening has received the greatest attention of ancient 'Law givers'. It has been discussed in full and all proper guidelines have been framed by 'Sutras' and 'Smrities'. Brahaspati, the famous Indian sage, says that names are the primary means of social intercourse, they bring about merits and are the route of fortune. From name man attains fame. Therefore naming ceremony is praiseworthy:

नामाखिलस्यव्यवहारहेतुः शुभावहं कर्मसुभाग्यहेतु: ।
नाम्नैवकीर्तिं लभते मनुष्यस्तत: प्रशस्तं खलुनामकर्म ॥[18]

9.2 Samaskaras

Ancient Indians evolved a number of 'Samaskaras' to be performed during the full life cycle of an individual. A Samaskara-less person was not deemed fit to live a civilized life. These sacraments are not unique to the Hindu society only. Almost all the civilized social groups framed their own sacraments. But Hindu Samaskaras are very wholesome and comprehensive. All the finer details of life have been discussed thread and bare. They are considered as instruments of purification of body and soul. Different meanings have been given by different people to the word 'Samaskara'. Its common meaning is connected with a religious rite performed for improvement of mental and physical well-being of a man who strives for a suitable place in the society. But, Hindu Samaskaras combine in themselves many social and religious performances which do not aim at formal worldly well-being only, but are necessary for the alround development of personality and unification of the 'self'. A man of 'Samaskaras' is considered a mine of good qualities and manners.

आत्मशरीरान्यतरनिष्ठो विहित क्रियाजन्योऽतिशयविशेषः संस्कारः[19]

9.21 Vedic age

'Samaskaras' had evolved in or before the vedic age, as is evident from the 'Ved Mantaras'. But use of the word 'Samaskar' itself is very rare in vedic literature. 'Brahman' literature also does not make any mention of this word, although 'Upanayana', 'Antishti' etc., prevalent samaskaras do find place in them.[20]

ब्राह्मादेच यज्ञाङ्गता प्रदानाय वैदिक मार्गेण प्रोक्षणादिः

Commentators have used this word not only for the religious rites performed for personal purification but for the purification of 'Samagri' used for 'Yajna' also.

9.22 Number

There is no unanimity among 'Smriti', 'Sutra' and other 'Dharma Shastara' writers regarding the

number of 'Samaskaras'. But modern scholars are agreed on their number being sixteen. However, 'Namakarna' has been included by all in their list of Samaskaras. Vedvyasa enumerates sixteen Samaskaras from 'Garbadhana' to 'Anteysthi'.

गर्भाधान प्रसवनं सीमन्तो जातकर्मच

नामक्रिया निष्क्रमोन्नप्राशनं वपनक्रिया

कर्णवेधो व्रतादेशो वेदारम्भक्रियाविधिः

केशान्त स्नानमुद्वाहोविवाहाग्नि परिग्रहः

त्रेताग्नि संग्रहश्चेति संस्काराः षोडशस्मृता:

<div align="right">(Vedvyasa 1, 14-15)</div>

Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Pandit Bhimasena Sharma have also fixed the number of Samaskaras at Sixteen[21-22]. 'Samaskaras', particularly the 'Namakarna' ceremony was performed by all castes and 'Varanas' of ancient Hindu society. But certain law givers prohibited Shudras from having any Samaskaras.

न केनचिरुछदसा शूद्रमिय सत्कार्योंविज्ञायते

इमशान मेतत्मत्प्रक्षेये शूद्रा: पापचारिण:

Sudras have been connected with the other three castes through matrimonial aliances from the very beginning. 'Anuloma' marriage i.e., of males of higher castes with female of lower castes were not uncommon in society down to the 8th century. Even orthodox 'Smriti' writers regard them as legal.[23-27] But 'Pratiloma' in which the female of a higher caste is married to the male of a lower caste was vehemently opposed by all.[28] Even this stiff opposition did not stop such inter-marriages completely. According to 'Dharma Shastara' and 'Smriti' writers 'Chandala' was the outcome of 'Pratiloma' form of marriage i.e., marriage between a Shudra male and a Brahmina girl.[29]

ब्राह्मन्यां शूद्रजीनतः चण्डालो धर्मवर्जितः

<div align="right">(Vedvyasa 1)</div>

शूद्राज्जातस्तु चण्डालो सर्वधर्म बहिष्कृतः

(Yaj. 1, 93)

ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्र संसर्गांजातइचाण्डाल उच्यते

(Ausansa 8)

9.3 Namakarna

Benjamin Walker has described in detail the procedures followed in the actual ceremony of 'Namakarna'. A sacrificial fire is lighted and darbha grass is laid to the west of it in a north-south direction, but with the blades of grass pointing north. The father of the child sits on the grass facing southwards, and mother holding the child sits facing him. Both parents dress in new unwashed clothes and the child is covered with a clean piece of cloth. Prayers are said, and at the given time the mother hands the child to father, head first so that it is passed over from south to north. A gold object, usually, a ring, is placed in a brass vessel containing ghee, oblations of ghee are poured into the fire and then the golden object is taken out, washed and tied around the child's neck by the father. The father then anoints his hand with ghee, warms it over the fire, touches the child's forehead, smells the child's hand as a cow would smell its calf and pronounces a benediction. He then gives the child's name previously selected by the priest or astrologer.[30]

9.31 Time

There is, however, no agreement among the 'Smriti' and 'Dharmashastara' writers as to how many days after the birth of the child name giving ceremony is to be performed. 'Grahsutras' prescribe that 'Namakarna' should be performed after ten days of the birth of the child. Brahaspati is of the view that Kshatriya could perform 'Namakarna' after 16 or 19 days of the birth. He laid down that 'Namakarna' of the child

may be performed on tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth or thirty-second day after birth.

द्वादशाहे दशाहेवा जंन्मतोऽपित्र्योदशे ।
षोडशैकोनविंशे वाद्वात्रिंशे वर्णतः क्रमात् ॥[31]

According to other Dharma Sastra writers it should be held after 10, **100** days or one full year

जननाद्दशरात्रे व्युटे शतरात्रेसंवत्सरेवानामधेयकरणम

Yajnavalakya and *Laghu Aswatayana* prescribe 11 days[32] after the birth.[33-34] *Vedvyasa* also supports the period of eleven days as interval between 'Jatakarma' and 'Namakarma.'[35]

अहन्येकादशे कुर्यान्नामकर्म विधानतः

Kashmiri Pandits used to perform the christening ceremony of the new born child after sixth day of its birth. 'Shran-Sundar' and 'Namakarma' were performed on the same day. However, Lawrence states that "on the ninth day after the birth (*Sundar*) the mother and the child are bathed in some auspicious hour and the child receives its name".[36] Whatever might have been the day for performing the 'Namakarma', it has now become an anachronism. No longer is seen such a ceremony being performed in any Pandit family. Children are given names without any inhibitions and often likes and fancies of parents determine it.

The Sikhs observe this ceremony in a different way. The parents take the baby to the nearest *Gurdwara* where the priest, after regular prayers, recites at randon a hymn from the Holy Book. The first letter of that hymn has to be the first initial of the baby's name, and name is coined which, if approved, is announced. To a boy's name the word 'Singh' and to a girls 'Kaur' is added.

The Sikh idea of religion consists of 'Nam' and 'Seva'. To practise 'Nam' means to practise the pres-

ence of God...worship of the name is made more impressive by being organised in the form of congregational recitations or singing.[37]   Guru Nanak preaches 'Nam' (the name of God) as a potent means of religious realization.

9.4   Vedas and Sutras

There are specific directions available in the 'Vedas' and other ancient Hindu texts for giving names to newly born. Patronymics were commonly used, generally by a modification of the father's name e.g., *Upagu's* son was called *Aupaguva*. Metronymics were current in matriarchal systems, but in other areas, according to Panini, one's designation by one's mother's *Gotra* or clan implied that the father's name was unknown.

Graha Sutras have discussed the composition of the name in full. *Parashara* prescribes that the name should be of two or four syllables, beginning with a consonant, with a semi vowel in it, with a long vowel or with 'Visarga' at the end—a name formed from a root with *Krt* affix and not a nominal derivative formed with a 'taddhita' affix.[38]   Baj-vappa lays down no restriction on number of syllables. "The father should give a name to the child containing one syllable, two syllables, three syllables or an indefinite number of syllables[39]."

पिता नामकरोति एकाक्षरं द्वयक्षरं त्र्यक्षरम् अपरिमिताक्षरंवा

But *Vasistha* restricts the number to two or four syllables and asks to avoid names ending in i and r.

द्वयक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा विवर्जयेदन्त्यलकाररेफाम्[40]

Asvaloyana Grahy Sutra says that "one who is desirous of fame, his name should consist of two syllables, one who desires worldly lustre his name should contain four syllables.

द्वयक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकाम:[41]

9.41 Female Names

The rules laid down for naming girls were different. The name of a girl should contain uneven number of syllables. It should end in 'a' and should have a 'Taddita'. Bajv-appa laid down that the name of girl should contain three syllables and end 'i'.

ह्यक्षरमीकारान्तं स्त्रिया:
अयुजाक्षरमाकारांति त्रये तद्धितम्[42]

Manu is of the view that "it should be easy to pronounce, not hard to hear, of clear meaning, charming, auspicious, ending in a long vowel and containing some blessing."

स्त्रीणां च सुखम् क्रूरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोहरम्
माङ्गल्यं दीर्घवर्णान्तम्,शीर्वादाभिधानवत्[43]

Manu, further, laid down that a Brahman should be named by a benedictory word, a Kshatria by a might depicting word, a Vaisha by a wealth and prosperity depicting word.

माङ्गल्यं ब्राह्मणस्य स्यात् क्षत्रियस्य बलान्वितम् ।
वैइयस्य धनसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य तु जुगुप्सितम्[44]

9.42 Four-fold Names

Four-fold naming was also current among the ancient Indians. This type of naming was done according to asterism under which the child was born, the deity of the month, the family deity and the popular calling. This development was due to rise of religious sects and astrology. '*Nakshatra name*', very well-known to the *Grahy Sutras*, was derived from the lunar asterism under which the child was born.[45]

9.43 Nakshatra Name

There is a written directive that the father or the eldest member of the family should name the baby

after a 'Nakshatra'. नक्षत्राणाम सम्बद्धं पितावाकुर्यांदन्योकुलवृद्धइति[46]
Names of 'Nakshatras' and their corresponding 'Gods'
is as follows: ' Asvini'—'Asvin'; 'Bharni'—'Yama';
'Kritika'—'Agni'; 'Rohini'—' Prajapati'; 'Mrigshira'—
'Soma'; 'Ardra'—'Rudra'; Punarvasa'—'Aditi'; 'Pushya'
—'Brahaspati'; 'Ashlesha—'Sarap'; ' Magha '—'Pitra';
'Purvaphalguni'—'Bhagha';' Utraphalguni'—'Aryamana';
'Hasta'—'Savitra'; 'Chitra—Tvashtra'; ' Svati'—'Vayu'
'Vishakha'—'Indragani';' Anuradh '—'Mitra'; 'Jeyshtha'
—' Indra'; ' Moola'—'Niriti'; ' Purvashada'—' Aap';
' Uttrashada'—' Vishvadeva '; ' Shravana '—' Vishnu';
' Dhanishtha'—' Vasu'; ' Shatbhiha '—' Varun'; ' Purva-
badarpad'—'Ajaikpad'; Utrabadarpad'—'Ahiburdhanya';
and Revati'—'Pushan'. If the child was born under the
constellation 'Asvini', he was named 'Asvini Kumar', if
under 'Rohini', 'Rohini Kumar' etc. Another procedure
of christening on the basis of 'Nakshatra' was also
prevalent. It was believed that every 'Nakshatra' was
the deity of one or more alphabets of Sanskrit.
Accordingly a child born under 'Asvini' nakshatra had
to be given a name to start with its subordinate
alphabet (i.e., चू - चे - चो - ल).[47]

9.45 Deity's name

The second practice of naming was based on the
deity of the month in which the child was born. Ac-
cording to 'Bhargay' the name beginning from 'Margha-
shersha' were, 'Krishna', 'Ananta', 'Achyuta', 'Chakri',
' Vaikhuntha', 'Janardana', ' Upendra', ' Yajapursha',
' Vasudeva', 'Hari', 'Yogesh' and 'Pundrikasha'.

कृष्णोनन्तोच्युतश्चक्री वैकुण्ठोऽथजनार्देनः ।

उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः ।

योगीशः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मासनामान्यनुक्रमात् ॥[48]

The name based on month deity used to be the second
name of the child.

'*Kuladeva*' or the family deity was also a source of name for a child. Every family used to worship one or the other deity and naming a child after him would mean extension of protection of the deity to the child. These deities could be vedic gods '*Indra*', '*Soma*', '*Varuna*', '*Mitra*', '*Prajapati*' etc., or the Puranic Gods like '*Krishna*', '*Rama*', '*Ganesha*' and '*Shankara*' while naming the child the word '*Dasa*' or '*Bakta*' was added to the name of the deity.

e.g., (*i*) *Ganesha Dass* (*ii*) *Rama Bakta*.

(1) कुलदेवता सम्बद्ध पिता नाम कुर्यादिति

(2) कुलदेवताकुलपूज्यादेवता तया सम्बद्धं तत्प्रतिपादकमित्यर्थः
अस्मिंश्चव्याख्याने अनादिरवच्छिन्नशिष्टाचारोमूलम् ।[49]

9.46 Popular Name

The popular name was meant for general use in the society. The rules given above governed the composition of such a name. The cultural and the educational background of the family would play a dominant role for framing of such a name. But as a general rule such names should necessarily be benedictory and full of meaning.

9.47 Guiding Principles

The guiding principles of '*Namakarna*' were thus :

(*i*) Name should be easy to pronounce and pleasing to auditory system;

(*ii*) Name should be indicative of the sex of its owner;

(*iii*) Name should be representative of fame, luxury and power and in the last

(*iv*) Name should indicate the caste of the owner.

9.48 Paninien Rule

The Paninien convention for the formation of names went as follows: If *Ganga* was the father, then

Gargi was the son, *Gargya* the grand-son (also called *Vriddha* 'Senior') and *Gargyayana* the great grand-son (also called *Yuvan* 'Younger'). This is a common practice in English speaking countries still. They name a child after the name of its father or grand father with an epithet 'senior', 'junior', 'primus' or 'secondus'.

9.5 Divine Names

The Vedic Aryans avoided personal names drawn from the vocabulary of divine or religious nomenclature.[50] But a study of Kashmiri names of past reveals the gross violation of this rule. Almost all the Pandit names of Kashmir are a true copy of the names of gods and goddesses. Custom of giving names of deities seems to have been prevalent among non-Aryans. It is clear from Kashmiri as well as South-Indian names. This practice was later on adopted by Buddhists and most probably Kashmiri Pandits have adopted it from them. The names of stars, constellations, planets, sun, moon, asterism were also avoided in vedic times by the Aryans as well as the use of names taken from nature e.g., of mountains, hills, rivers, forests[51].

Manu has laid down a clear directive that a girl should not be given an awkward name indicating "a constellation, a tree, a river, a mountain, a bird, a servant and a terror."[52] Nature names being very commonly adopted by aborigines, many law givers, including Manu, forbade the marriage of a girl, named after any of above things, with a man of higher castes[53]. These rules were, however, seldom observed by succeeding generations. We find many women bearing names, in contrast with the above rule in our ancient texts. Women with names of rivers include '*Narmada*', wife of the Paurava king *Puruktsa*; '*Kaveri*', wife of *Jahnu* etc.

9.51 Sameness of Names

Pargiter has discussed at length the 'sameness of names' of ancient Hindus. He has sorted out a large

number of names having been given after gods, places,. animals, stars, plants, rivers and also names of countries given after the names of kings.

9.52 Names of Gods

"Kings, Princes and Brahmanas had the same name as gods and the mythological beings and heavenly bodies"[54]. There was *Varuna* among the *Vasisthas* and among the *Bhargavas*[55-56]. *Agni* was the name of an *Aurva rishi* and of a *Maharishi* called *Bharata*[57]. *Aruna* was the dawn, and two Brahmanas were so named...*Rishis* and others were named after their deities, and heavenly bodies were called after *rishis* such as the seven stars of the Great Bear and the Star Canopus.

9.53 Names of Places

Further kings and brahmanas sometimes had the same name as places and peoples. Thus there were a people called *Asmka*, yet it was the name of a king of Ayodhya and of a Brahman[58-61]. *Anga* was the name of a country and people (East Bihar) and its king, and also of the reputed author (*Aurava*) of Rigveda.[62] *Aja*, king of Ayodhya had the same name as a people. 'Pukkara' was the name of a son of Rama's brother *Bharata*, *Nala's* brother, a town, the modern Pokhar. *Kuru*, the Paurava King, had the same name as the people.

9.54 Names of Animals

Kings and Brahmanas also bore the names of animals, as *Rksa*, *Rsaba*, *Kurunga*, and *Vatra*, of birds, *Sakuni*, *Hamsa*, *Suka* and *Uluka;* of trees and plants, as *Asvatha*, *Plaksa*, *Nala* and *Munja;* of inanimate objects, as *Sankha*, *Drti*, *Asman* and *Drona;* and even of ceremonies, *Asvamedha*, also of parts of body, as *Bahu*, *Karna*, *Caksu*, and of abstract ideas, as *Sakti* and *Manyu*[63-66].

Women had the names of animals and birds as two God (Sukra's wife and Yati's wife) and also Brahmadatta's queen[67-69] and *Hamsi,* of plants of flowers, as *Malti, Padmini* and *Kamala*[70]; of inanimate objects, as *Aksamala, Arani* and *Sita;* and also of abstract ideas as, *Maryada* and *Samati*[71-72].

9.54 A Names of Rivers

Women had the similar names as rivers, and this fact is in violation of the injunction that a Brahman should not marry a maiden having such a name.[73-75] Thus the queen of king *Purukutsa,* of Ayodhya was named *Narmada; Yauvanasvas* grand-daughter *Kaveri* was wife of *Jahnu,* king of Kanyakubja, *Sarasvati* was queen of the Paurava king *Matinara*[76-78] and *Kalindi* (Yamuna) was the name of the wife of *Asita* (Bahu) king of Ayodhya. There were three queens named *Drsadvati,* (*i*) wife of a King of Ayodhya[79-83] *Visvamitra's* queen, wife of *Divodasa* king of Kasi[88-91]. *Urvasi* was the wife of[84-87] *Pururavas*[92-94] and *Urvasi* was also the original name of the Ganges.[95]

9.55 Names of Constellations

Again, women had the same names as stars or constellations; thus there were two *Rohinis* (one wife of *Vasudeva*)[96-97] and the other wife of *Krisna*[98-99]. Several *Revatis* (*Balrams* wife and others), a *Citra* Name of *Subadra*)[100], and *Radha*; hence *Arundhati* (the star Alcov in the Great Bear) wife of *Vasistha*[101-103], may not perhaps be mythical.

9.56 Names of Survile Status

The use of a name indicative of any subordination or survile status was not allowed by Vedic Aryans. But this rule was later on very often violated by adding the word 'dasa' to the name of family deity or any other god e.g. 'Durga Das', 'Ganesh Das', 'Bhagvan Das' etc. No Rigvedic Aryan would think of calling himself a 'dasa' even of a deity because of the contempt in

which the term was held.[104]   Hence it is believed
that the sage '*Mahidasa*' and the king '*Divodasa*' were
non-Aryans since these names occur so early in the
vedic period.   In course of time, however, the Aryans
adopted the native names and "the early Hindu philo-
sophy, particularly that of Upanishadas, the rishi
families, and the renowned Indian clans of yore, were
all intimately connected with indigeneous people."[105]

9.57 Secret Names

Besides a popular or an official name, every child
in a Hindu household received a secret name. This
practice is still in vogue in India. But such a practice
was never prevalent among Kashmiri Pandits. They,
of course, gave a name of affection to every child, be-
sides his official name. But such a name was never
kept as a guarded secret. Everybody in the household
would call the child by his 'affectionate name'. Many
taboos were connected with giving of a secret name.
Ancient Aryans believed that a name is one's personal
possession. It was to be guarded against any attack
by magical means. Furthermore, there was thought
to be a limit in the 'personal treasury' to the 'Units' of
one's name, and constant use of it depleted this stock
and weakened the owner. One's name is, therefore,
not to be banded about, and strict conventions govern-
ing modes of address are almost universally observed
in India. Visitors will ask to see 'the master of the
house'; a pupil will refer to 'Swamiji' or 'Mahatmaji', or
'Guruji'. A Hindu husband does not utter his wife's
name, nor a wife her husband's, but they will either
just say what they want without address, or will call
out, 'O mother of Krishna' or 'Hey Rama's father.'
Formerly during the baptismal rites a secret personal
name used to be whispered into the child's ear, which
would be conveyed only to father and grand-father of
the child by the officiating priest, and would thus never
be known to more than three or four persons. It was

the child's talismanic, and inviolable name.[106] According to *Bodhayana* '*Nakshatra*' name should be kept secret and should be known to the parents only till the '*Upanayana Ceremony*' of the child.

नक्षत्रनामधेयेन द्वितीय नामधेयं गुह्यम्[107]

This name was thus closely connected with the person of the child and was not made public to keep away the evil eyes and harmful designs of enemies.

"Among many primitives a child was given a secret name in addition to the one he was publicly known by, in order to foil evil spirits. In some tribes it was forbidden to utter the king's name, in others, even words that sounded like his name were taboo. When former king Bossa Ahadi ascended the throne of Dahomey, in French West Africa, he made sure that no one pronounced his name by accident, even. He had everyone killed who was named *Bossa*.[108]

9.6 KASHMIRI NAMES

9.61 Male Names

Ancient Kashmiris had mainly one-worded names drawn from sanskrit language and literature. Even aboriginal names were preserved in a (See Sec. A 41) sanskritized form. An epithet like *Gupt* was sometimes added to the given name but it had in no case an independent existence. It was yoked with the given name in such a way that the two combined words would appear as one, e.g., '*Abhinavagupta*.' One-worded personal names continued to be in vogue during the mediaeval period also. We have many famous names like, *Kalhana, Bilhana, Srivara* etc., available for ready reference. But the fashion of one-worded names seems to have lost its value when we come to pre-Independence era. Very rarely a single-worded given name is seen during this period. Every individual possessed a name having two parts. The first part being the

name of a deity, God, a Puranic figure or even a saint followed by the second part which usually was represented by a word like Ram, Kakh, Chand etc., e.g., '*Sona Ram*', '*Lassa Ram*', '*Govind Ram*', '*Nath Ram*', '*Vassa Ram*; '*Daya Ram*', '*Shiv Ram*', '*Juvan Ram*', '*Kantha Ram*', '*Sirij Ram*', '*Soda Ram*', '*Dasha Ram*', '*Isha Ram*', '*Kisha Ram*' etc. Except with one or two names the word '*dasa*' was added. It is quite contrary to the general practice, of expressing humility and complete subjection to the deity, followed in other parts of northern India. '*Kakh*' was also very commonly used as the second part of a given name. It besides being the part of a given name is a '*Kram name*' and also a term of respect and reverence Any elderly person was addressed as '*Kakh*' e.g., '*Goonda Kakh*', '*Lassa Kakh*' etc. '*Kakh*' was also used singally to address a dear and elderly member of the family. An elderly female in the family was called, similarly, as *Kakni*.

During early forties till late fifties the word '*Nath*' had a complete sway over the Kashmiri Pandit names. It was used as the second part of almost every Hindu name of Kashmir during this period. '*Nath*' which means the master has been used very indiscriminately with all names coming from the names of gods, goddesses, Puranic figures, names of saints, inanimate objects and even sacred places. Thus '*Durga Nath*', 'Master of the Goddess Durga'; '*Omkar Nath*', 'Master of Om' (the mystic symbol of Hindus), '*Brij Nath*', 'Master of the Brij Land', '*Dwarka Nath*' 'Master of Dwarka', '*Prem Nath*', 'Master of the love', '*Janaki Nath*', 'Master of Janaki (Sita)'; '*Kailash Nath*', 'Master of Kailash mountain (abode of Lord Shiva)', '*Prakash Nath*', 'Master of the light'; '*Gopi Nath*', 'Master of the Gopis (beloveds of Lord Krishna)', '*Hrady Nath*' 'Master of the heart'; '*Pushkar Nath*', 'Master of Pushkar (a sacred place of Brahma)', '*Maheshwar Nath*' 'Master of Lord Shiva', '*Triloki Nath*', 'Master of the three worlds'

3

'*Raghu Nath*', '*Master of the Raghukul*'. This practice of adding the word '*Nath*' is quite amazing and often amusing also. Imagine a '*Durga Nath*' worshipping and flowing tears of devotion at the feet of goddess *Durga* with least idea that his very name is insulting and unrespectful for the goddess. '*Lal*' was another important appendage, followed by '*Krishan*', giving thus birth to names like *Brij Lal, Girdhari Lal, Shyam Lal, Bansi Lal, Makhan Lal, Ramkrishen, Dayakrishen, Roopkrishen, Radhakrishen*, etc.

During early sixtees, however, '*Nath*', '*Lal*' and '*Krishen*' went to background and the word '*Kumar*' got prominence as the second part of personal name. Names during this period were slightly modified. They were given a poetic touch and poetic words and expressions were borrowed from Hindi and Sanskrit literature to serve as the names of newly born babies. Rarely a name without '*Kumar*' as its second part would fulfil the requirements of fashion of the day. Thus the names like '*Ashok Kumar*', '*Kiran Kumar*', '*Pawan Kumar*', '*Raj Kumar*', '*Anil Kumar*', '*Vasant Kumar*', '*Sharad Kumar*', '*Sunil Kumar*', '*Ajay Kumar*', '*Vinod Kumar*', '*Narender Kumar*', '*Saneh Kumar*' '*Sanjay Kumar*' etc., became current among Kashmiri Hindus. But cycle of the names seems to have completed a full circle and again one-worded personal names have gained the popularity. Present Hindu names are derived mainly from ancient texts and mythical figures, besides literary expressions of the past. Accordingly *Rahul, Siddartha, Dushyant, Amit, Ashwani, Navin, Sanjay, Ashu, Sanjeev, Pravin, Gaurav, Parikshit, Utpal, Kalhan* and *Bilhan* have gained the currency and are very much prevalent these days.

9.62 Female Names

As regards the female names of Kashmir, they were one-worded during the remote past. However, during pre-Independence days '*Mal*' (corrupt form of '*Mala*')

was usually added to the given names of women. The first part of these names would generally be corrupted form of a benedictory and beautiful Sanskrit word. Female names like 'Vyash Mal'—(Yasha Mala), 'Zai-Mal' (Jai Mala) Yambar Mal (Flower garland), Daya Mal, Zacha Mal (Shining garland), Ganga Mal (Garland of the Ganges), Arni Mal (Flower garland) Boni Mal (Chinar garland), Posh Mal (Pushpa Mala), Konga Mal (Saffron garland), Himal (Flower garland) were very common. Like Kakh (in male names) the word 'Ded' was generally used as an expression of reverence. Any elderly lady would be called as 'Ded'. Therefore, the names like 'Rop Ded', 'Zoon Ded', 'Yambar Ded', and 'Ranim Ded' were popular during those days. But with the coming of Independence and popularisation of female education, the word 'Devi' got appended with the female Hindu names of Kashmir. The given names still continued to be drawn fro.n the names of deities, Puranic heroines and Sanskrit literary characters. Thus the names like 'Tulsi Devi', 'Roopa Devi', 'Lakshmi Devi' etc., gained the currency. The custom of changing the given name of a girl after her marriage continued to prevail. Therefore, the married women used to have slightly a different name from the virgins. The word 'Vati' seems to have been very popular as the second part of a married woman. During this period we see a large number of names like 'Somavati', 'Prabhavati', 'Padmavati', 'Durgavati', 'Dhanavati', 'Leelavati', 'Chandavati' 'Kamlavati' etc., being consistently used for married women. By and by the practice of using 'Devi' with a given name lost its ground and the word 'Kumari' caught the Pandit fancy. Therefore, names like 'Nancy Kumari', 'Phoola Kumari', 'Santhosh Kumari', 'Beta Kumari,' 'Krishna Kumari' etc., became current. The given names 'Phoola' and 'Tosha' were so common that often the problem of homonyms would create difficulties. But the use of one worded female names is gaining ground very fast, and as in case of male names, benedictory and beautiful expressions are used as given names.

Names of the heroines of yore, deities and classical
characters are used in abundance as sources of given
names for girls. We see names like '*Vasna*', '*Priti*',
'*Shakuntala*', '*Geetika*', '*Rekha*', '*Anjali*' etc., are most
prevalent in present day Pandit community. As a mat-
ter of fact such bewildering names are now given to boys.
and girls which are hardly indicative of the sex of their
owners. Names like '*Santosh*', '*Preetu*', '*Ashu*' and.
many others are given to children of all the sexes.

9.7 Pure Kashmiri Names

A Kashmiri Pandit lady, in a sentimental appeal,
has called upon all Kashmiris to give pure Kashmiri
names to their children. She writes, "my name is
Poshkuj. It could be Pushpalata or even Kusam Lata,
but I am Poshkuj because Kashmiri names fascinate
me...Pure Kashmiri names possess a greater appeal.
To change *Himal*, *Gonwati*, *Zoon*, *Sangarmal*, *Wanmal*
into Gunwati, Vanmala, Chandarkala or Sumanlata,,
seems to me, ludicrous. A limitless treasure of names
is hidden in our history and literature. Why are not
they owned? However, I feel delighted to see many
people having christened their children and houses
like Pamposh, Abhinav and Shahzar, Zoondab, etc..
Please continue with this trend...and select an attrac-
tive, beautiful and melodious Kashmiri name for your
child." [109]

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CHAPTER B

SURNAMES

1 Genesis

Social groups no longer could live in isolation. Pressure of population and increasing means of production made their inter-dependence necessary. Man no longer could meet with all his needs in his own village or commune. He was compelled to seek the help of his neighbouring villages and communities. Within his own social group the number of its members also witnessed an increase. Trade and commerce took him even to distant lands and exposed him to different social atmospheres. However, the stock of personal names being limited he could not individualise every member of his own group and those of other communities, as easily as he could do in the past. Therefore, a man could be identified by adding the name of his commune or social group when he was to be identified and individualised outside his community. This is, perhaps, the vague beginning of what we call *Gotra* system in the ancient India. But requirements of identification within one's own community could not be met with by this simple means of addition of one's community name to the personal name. The problem of homonyms must have, therefore, persisted for much a longer time.

1.1 Amimism

Amimism has been a common phenomenon with all the ancient races and tribes. The fundamental and basic element of Indian religion, from which everything else sprang, was the propitiation of the spirits of the earth and sky to obtain good crops and fertile herds. "This aspect of Hinduism, as all Hindus know, still continues, overlaid by much more developed and exalted religious thought. And this is not, in my opinion, an aspect of religion to be disparged, to be

looked down upon, or to be treated with scorn. We can trace it back to the Harrapa culture and even further back to pre-historic man, the ancestor of the present *Adivasis*".[1]

1.2   Miscegenation

Rapid expansion of the Aryans in India gave birth to a process of mixture of races. Thus throwing open the gates of much guarded Aryan communities to rush in a number of native and aboriginal beliefs and practices. Totemism was, perhaps, one of the strongest aboriginal waves to have left its indelible marks on the shores of Aryan ocean. Therefore names of inanimate objects were connected with the tribe and clan names. In spite of the positive vedic directions against totemic practices we have a large number of ancient Indian families which derive their names from some animal, plant or inanimate object. (See A951-A954). Mr L. M. Roy in one of his Bengali articles has tried his best to prove that the family names of the primitive civilized people first originated from the nomenclature of in-animate objects, such as mountains hills, rivers, forest or wood etc., and of animate objects—animals and birds, such as lion, tiger, elephant, cow, bull, bullock, lamb, serpent, bird, swan, duck, dove, patridge, hawk or hawkin, peacock, etc.

"These surnames still exist among the different civilized nations of the East and the West. Their similarity goes to show that we the people of the East and the West must have belonged to the same stock of the human race, although we might have later divided ourselves into various groups, such as Asian, European, American, Russian, African, Mongolian Caucasian, Australian, Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese and so on.[2]

1.3   Earliest Surnames

The nearest approach to surnames in ancient times existed among the Romans. They gave to each child

a first name. A second one was added to indicate the
family or class to which he belonged.   Later a third
name, usually a sort of descriptive nick name was added.
Romans called this the *Cogonomen*.   It often becomes
the family name.   Although the use of any kind of
surname was almost non-existent in ancient India, yet
the law-givers have laid down positive directions to-
wards their use.   Thus Vyasa emphasised that "the
'*Sarman*' was to be added to the name of a Brahman,
'*Varman*' to that of a Kshatriya, '*Gupta*' to that of
Vaisya and '*Dasa*' to that of a 'Sudra'."

शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रियस्तु ।
गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥[3]

2   Varied Sources

Sources of family or surnames have been varied
and diverse.   It may be a totem, name of a class or
tribe, name of an animate or inanimate object, name of
village or locality, name of one's mother or father, name
of the profession and even a nick name.   Surnames
in the beginning were simple marks of identification
and individualisation.   But the process of individua-
lisation could never be completed in total.   With the
proliferation of families and tribes it became continued
process.   A name used as an individualisation mark
for a certain social group consisting of, say about fifty
persons could no longer serve its purpose when the
number of members of that particular group became
two hundred.   Accordingly a number of sub groups
came into being within a certain group.   Therefore,
the process of individualisation became a continuous
and perpetual job.   However new and newer situations,
incidents and occasions presented themselves in a me-
chanical manner making the process of individualisa-
tion a self perpetuating procedure.

2.1   Birds and Animals

Sanskrit literature is full of such family names which
owe their origin to the denominations of lower animals.

birds and inanimate objects. Mr. Roy has quoted references from the Vedas to substantiate the above statement. A passage from the Samveda says "People who are not revengeful and are forbearing like a *Hamsas* (Swans) even when tortured by their enemies, are called, *Hamsas* (Swans). They and *Brisha* (Bull) go to *Yajna-Griha* (Sacrificial room) to perform the sacrificial rites".[4] The Rigveda described the abode of these swans as '*Suchi*'. They lived there under the leadership of Brahma.[5] A saintly man or a *Sanyasin* is even now called as *Parmahamsa*. Surnames like 'Swan' and 'Duck' exist among English speaking people also.

2.2 Totemism

In *Aitareya-Brahmana* at many places it has been stated that 'Snakes', 'Cows' or 'Bulls' performed *Yajnas*. Historical investigations have proved that they did not belong to any reptile or animal class. But they were socially well-organised human groups holding, perhaps, the totem of the snakes, the bulls or the cow. There are numerous references to the 'Nagas' as a tribe and as 'serpents' in ancient Indian literature. Their real identity is shrouded in a mystery. However, many scholars have worked hard to lift the curtain of mythology from their face and proved them as a race of early inhabitants of India. Nagas were the earliest inhabitants of Kashmir valley also is proved beyond doubt by the 'Nilamata Purana'. Benjamin Walker describes them as a mixed Mongolian people whose original home was probably in the highlands (Sanskrit: Naga) of Iran, which have even been the meeting ground for Aryan and Mangolian peoples. Nagadvipa was one of the nine geographical divisions of *Bharata-Varsha* or Ancient India, which formed a belt extending from Iran across Afghanistan to parts of the Punjab. The Nagas were of scythic affinities and associated with the serpent totem, of which some evidence is found in ancient Persian, South Russian myths.

Herodotus relates to the story of Hercules who during
his search for his lost mark, mated with *Echidna*, a half
woman half serpent, and left a bow for his son *Scythes*.
Thus does Greek mythology, with instructive symbol-
ism, explain the origin of the Scythian people.[6]   Gene-
ral Cunningam takes them as the dragon-worshippers
akin to the *Scytho-Median Zohak*. Three very old
cast coins with figure of snake and the legend Kadsa
in old Brahmi characters, which he found in West
Punjab, have been attributed by him to early Takhas
—the descendants of the Naga Chief *Takshaka*.[7] This
Takshaka Naga had his sway over the valley of Kashmir
also. He was called the Lord of Saffron fields having
his seat at *Zevan* (a village near Pampore). People
to this day respect his abode called *Takshaka Naga*
(a spring) and offer *Tahar* in every safforn season here.
Mahavamsa   records   their   presence   and   rule   over
Kashmir as early as 3rd and 4th centuries B.C.[8] The
Nilamata Purana mentions the number of principal
Naga deities as 527, besides the four *Dikpalas* who
were—Bindusara, Elapatra, Srimadaka and Uttara-
manasa.

2.3 Nagas

Col. Tod is of the opinion that they came from the
"*Shesnagadesa*" which he describes to be the abode of
the ancient Saythic, Tochari of Strabo, the Tak-i-uks
of the Chinese, the Tajures of the present day Tur-
kistan.[9]

Some authorities hold the view that the Nagas
were Tibeto-Burmese who occupied northern India
before the advent of the Aryans. The North-western
region of India, through which the Naga migration
took place, was traditionally believed to be guarded
by the Serpent King *Nilanaga*. There are numeral
evidences, particularly in spring names of Kashmir,
to demonstrate the clear authority of Nagas over the
valley of Kashmir. Dr. Ved Kumari has collected a

large number of evidences in her Nilamata Purana to prove the Nagas a human race.

Mr. C. S. Wake believes the Nagas to be "aboriginal serpent worshippers". [10]   Professor Hopkins says, "*Garudas* and *Tarksyas* may conceivably have been human chieftains of the Western coast though they scarcely present as strong a claim to euhemeristic interpretation as do their natural foes Nagas". [11]

In Indian geography the word 'Naga' appears in many place-names of which one of the oldest was *Nagasahvaya* (later Hastinapur). The best known of the present day names Nagpur, is perhaps merely an analogous appellation given to an area where the Cobra is common. [12]

Pargiter is of the view that the name Daitya, Danava, Naga and Raksasa do not always imply that such tribes were different from men or even Ailas i.e., Lunar races in Ksatriya tradition [13].

Carlleyle goes a step further to point out that both the *Asuras* and Nagas were of a highly respectable patronage and were descendants of ancient Aryan patriarchs of the Hindu race [14].   Dr A. Banerjee regards them the spear head and backbone of the *Asura* people in India [15].

Dr Grierson says, "I am inclined to believe that they may have been the ancestors of the non-Aryan inhabitants of Hunza-Nagar whose language *Burushaski* has not yet been identified as belonging to any known family of speech [16].

G. F. Oldham takes them as sun-worshipping Sanskrit speaking people whose totem was the Naga or the hooded serpent [17].   Kenny holds the view that the Nagas were a Dravidian people inhabiting the northern part of India before the immigration of the Aryan people to India. [18]

The term 'Nagara' which originally meant the imperial capital, and now means 'town' or 'locality'

is still used as a suffix to the naming of new towns. Nalanda, site of a famous Buddist University was also ·called after a 'Naga', namely *Nagananda*, and Takhasila (Taxila) after the Naga King '*Takshaka*'.

In Sanskrit texts Nagas are described as handsome, intelligent race. '*Narada Muni*' after his visit to their land, declared it more enchanting than the heaven. Naga princesses were frequently sought as brides for the Indian princes. The marriage of *Purukuïsa*, son of Mandhatri of Ayodhya, with Narmada, a Naga Princess; of Kusha son of Rama with Naga princess *Kumud Vati*; of *Asvathama*, son of Drona, with a Naga maiden, of Arjuna with *Ulupi*, a Naga princess are conspicuous instances of such alliances. In historical times particularly every important dynasty was linked with the Nagas. They also founded their own dynasties. They were *Harnayaka* dynasty, founded by Bhimsara of Magadha, the *Sisunagas* of Magadha; the *Lichchhavis* of the Himalayan foot hills; the *Bharasivas* of the upper Ganges region and the Naga dynasty of Padmavati in Central India. The Puranas state that no less than seven Naga kings ruled at Mathura. Krishna's ancestors and also the kings of Vijaya Nagar were the Nagas. Among others the '*Nhavi*' of the Deccan, the '*Kur*' of Chota Nagpur and ·certain princely families of Mysore are said to have descended from the Nagas.[19]

The Mahabharata is full of references to the 'Naga' families i.e., people who bear Naga as their family name. Vedvyasa says, "This son of mine. . .is born of my wife who belongs to the serpent sect." King Janmejoy's '*Naga Yajana*' was not aimed at annihilating the species of 'serpents' from India but was a declared war against Naga king of Taxila. Naga names have continued to exist from the Buddhistic period down to the present time. The names of *Pingal Nag* and *Ding-Nagacharya* are not unknown to the literary world. In Bengal various sects of Hindus still use the word 'Nag' as their family name.

Harivamsa describes the forced ouster of certain kshatriya dynasties from Hindu societies, which included besides others the *Sarpa* (Serpent) and *Mahisha* (Buffalo) etc., Mysore State is stated to have been founded by *Mahishasura*. The surname Sinha, Singh or Singha (lion) is very common in India and the surname Hathee (Elephant) and Bagh (tiger) exist in many Kayastha families of Bengal. Many Punjabi Hindu families use *Hathi Singh* as surname. Among Bengalis many people still bear the surnames *Bhera* (Lamb), *Patka* (Goat), *Mahish* (Buffalo) and *Sial* or *Sialu* (Jakal) etc. Use of animal names as surnames is not practised by Hindus only. A class of Englishmen still holds such surnames as 'Bull' and 'Bullock', 'Lamb', 'Beaver', 'Wolf', 'Fox', 'Fish', 'Seal', etc.[20] (See also Chap. D for Kashmiri surnames derived from the animal names).

2.4 Matriarchy

Historians have proved beyond doubt the supremacy of the 'Mother' in earliest Indian society. Woman was the leader of the class. Marriage system prevalent in primitive Hindu society gave an exalted position to the woman.[21] In the sphere of religion it was a goddess rather than a god which occupied the first place and in the dual form of the names the goddess is always named first e.g., *Lakshmi Narayan*, *Gauri Shankar*, *Radha Krishna*, etc.

Among the Sakas, Kushans, Pahalvas and other peoples of Central Asian origin, descent was often traced through the female line. *Vayu Purana*, one of the oldest of the Puranas says, "The Devas (men of erudition) are called or classified according to the names of their mothers." The name of the mother of the Devas was *Aditi*. The Devas are called *Adityas*. Similarly, the sons of mother 'Danayu' are known as 'Danayus' or 'Dashyus' (robbers), the sons of the mother 'Kapila' or 'Suraci' and of mother 'Kadru' or 'Sarpa'

are respectively known as cow or bull or bullock or buffalo and Naga.[22] The custom of taking names after the mother might indicate that the father was unknown. Story of *Rishi Satyakama* is such an example. In some circumstances it may point to the superior pedigree of the maternal line which would make it to be preserved as among certain Rajputs. More often it points to a matriarchal society.

Khasis of Assam are said to be a perfect specimen of matriarchal society. The mother still holds the supreme position. She is the bond of union among members of the family. She owns the property and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. Nairs of Kerala also used to be a matriarch people. A Nair family consisted of the mother, her children, her brothers and maternal uncles. Transmission of inheritance was maintained through the daughters and not sons. Relationship and descent was traced through women.

In the Gita Lord Krishna says, "I am *Vainteya* among the birds" who was, this Vainteya? Vainteya had other names too. In some cases he was called *Garuda* or *Stakshya*. He was a Sage, a leader of the Vainteyas and one of the composers of the Vedic hymns. The Vainteya, Garuda or Stakshya did not belong to the class of ordinary birds. He was the eldest son of mother Vanita. Her issues generally were known as Vainteyas (birds). Keeping in view the existence of family names as *Mayur* (Peacock), Koel (Cuckoo), Bajpai (Hawk) etc., in our society and those as 'Woodcock', 'Dove', 'Peacock', 'Crane', 'Duck', 'Swan', 'Patridge', 'Eagle' and 'Bird' in English society we can come safely to the logical conclusion that these different denominations are the direct outcome of the general term 'Bird'. That is to say, that the people holding such surnames are the descendants of the 'Bird family'. The matriarchal system has almost been abolished from our civilised society. Traces of this system can be found among the hill tribes and Keralas of India and the aboriginal tribes of Africa.[23]

2.41 Polyandry

Closely connected with matriarchy is the system of Polyandry. It permits a woman to have more than one husband at the same time. This custom is said to have prevailed among almost all classes of ancient India. It was very common among non-Aryans, particularly the Austrics, and was found among Brahmins and Rishis. The hymns of Atharva-Veda saying that a woman can marry even after having ten husbands is a direct reference to polyandry. Similarly, mythology speaks of a common wife of the '*Maruts*' and of the '*Asvins*'[21].

Many scions of the ancient rishi clans were said to be born of 'two fathers', or 'the sons of many fathers', and there are a number of references in Vedic literature to women with several husbands, or to a maiden being 'given unto husbands.' The vedic Rishi 'Prachetas' had ten sons who married a common wife 'Marisha' daughter of 'Kandu'. The beautiful *Gautami* married seven rishis as a common wife. The fisher women had two children by one of her husbands, Santanu and by another husband bore the renowned sage Vyasa. '*Jatila*' the virtuous daughter of a Vedic rishi was, according to *Mahabharata*, the wife of seven learned Brahmins. So also '*Varkshi*', daughter of a sage, who in *Mahabharata* was the wife of ten brothers[25].

There is a story in the Puranas of the beautiful *Madhavi* who was jointly queen to three contemporary and neighbouring kings, and bore sons to three different families, after which she bore a son to the sage *Visvamitra*. Not content with the performance she had a *Swayamvara* and selected her husband the King *Haryasva* with whom she went into exile. The Kunala Jataka relates that the princess '*Kavita*' selected five husbands at a time and married them all.[26] Sarkar deems it not unlikely that Sita was the common wife of Rama and Lakshamana.[27]

The most conspicuous example of polyandry is the marriage of Draupadi to the five Pandavas. Pandu,

4

the father of Pandavas by a curse could not cohibit
with his wives. Kunti, the mother of Pandavas, knew
several husbands and had mothered a son even before
her marriage. Polyandry of Pandavas surprised
Drupada who questioned Yudhishthira about the strange
custom, "contrary to percept and morals', and Yuohi-
shthira replied". It is beyond our power to discover
the origin of this practice. We only follow the old and
righteous path taken by our ancestors.[28]

Dr. Majumdar is of the view that the custom of
several brothers marrying one woman is even today
more common in India than is generally believed, not
only among non-Aryans, also but among the Brahmins.[29]

2.5 Patriarchy

With the passage of time the banner of matriarchy
was pulled down from the social complex of ancient
India and the supreme command of leadership of the
family went into the hands of man. Woman was thrown
into dark dungeon of slavery and subjugation with a
strong dose of sedation, from which she is yet to recover
fully. Every family was commanded over by a Patri-
arch with full sovereignty over its members, the life
and liberty of sons, daughters and wives being his private
property. These patriarchs became, in ancient Indian
society, the founders of various dynasties and *gotras*.
Descendants of these gotras have been since then using
the name of their forefathers (*gotras*) as their surnames.
For this we find these days such surnames as '*Kashyapa*',
'*Bharadvaja*', '*Vasistha*', '*Parasara*', '*Vyasa*', '*Vatsayana*',
'*Gautama*', '*Mondgalayana*', '*Garga*', '*Mitra*' and so
on. The practice of using father's or forefather's
name as a surname is very common in present day India.
Take for instance the name of 'Lokmanya Balwant
Rao Bal-Gangadhar Tilak'. Here 'Balwant Rao' is
the Christian name of Lokmanya Tilak, the word 'Bal-
Gangadhar' is his father's name and the word 'Tilak'
signifies the name of forefather of his family (Lokmanya)
is simply an honorific. Similarly, take the name of

'Deshabandhu Chitranjan Das' and 'Netaji Subash Chandra Bose'. 'Chitranjan' and 'Subash Chandra' signify the Christian names of the respective individuals concerned. *'Das'* and *'Bose'* represent respectively the names of forefathers of 'Chitranjan' and 'Subash Chandra'[30].

The practice of using one's father's name is not unique to the Hindu society. It has been prevalent among Europeans also. Thus William's John writes his name as John Williams (i.e. William's son) Brain's John is called Johno' Brain (Using the Irish prefix 'O, meaning of). Donald's John became John Mac Donald (Scottish). Howell's John was known as John Ap-Howell, shortened to Powell (Welsh). If a Russian were called *Ivan* and his son had the same name, the son would be known as *Ivan Itanhovitch*. Many other patriarch names like George, William, Anderson, Ripon, Muir, Harrington, Morrison, Stalin, Truman, Roosevelt, Attlee, Mackintosh, Gregory, Harrison, Washington, Evatt, Hopkins, Martin etc., are very commonly used as surnames.

2.6 Name of Locality

Name of the locality from which a person's ancestors had come is also used as a surname. To add the name of locality to one's name for a better identification is a common practice in South India. Thus the name 'Shiyali Ramamrita Ranganathan' is a combination of his Christian name (Ranganathan), his father's name (Ramamrita) and the name of his ancestoral village (Shiyali). Other names derived from places are *Bhatnagar*, *Malviya* and *Sarvepalli*. In north India and west India the suffix *'Valla'* is added. It is anglicized as 'Wallah' e.g., Bombaywallah, Amritsarwallah. The practice of adding 'Wallah' to one's personal name became common, even necessary, among the displaced persons of West Punjab. They added the name of their locality with a suffix 'Wallah' for an immediate and easy identifiation. Thus arose a large number of

names with the word "Wallah" e.g., 'Peshawar Wallah' 'Sialkot Wallah', 'Lahore Wallah', 'Karachi Wallah' etc.

Westerners also resorted to the practice of adding the name of place to one's name for identification. "Every village had its 'hall', its 'woods', and its 'village green'. Hence three common place names are Hall Wood and Green. These names might be varied in several ways. Thomas who lived near the wood might be called Thomas Wood or Thomas At Wood. If Andrews Inn had the sign of a lion, he might be called Andrew Lyon".[31]

2.7 Occupation

Another potent source of surnames in India and abroad was the profession or the occupation of the head of the family. If a man was a broker his descendants were known as *'Dalal'*. Accordingly a blacksmith was known as *Karamkar*, a fisherman as *Dhibar*, a ledger keeper as *Rokaria*, a money-lender as *Seth*, a Cashier as *Khizanchi* and a clerk as *Munshi*. A reciter of sacred texts was known as *Pathak*. Among certain Bengali Brahmins the suffix *'Upadhya'* (recitor or teacher) is added to the ancestoral village name e.g., *Mukhopadhyaya* (contracted to Mukherji) *Bandopadhyaya* (Banerji), *Chattopadhaya* (Chaterjee), *Gangopadhyay* (Ganguli). The system of suffixing *Charia*, *Chariar* or *Achariar*,' teacher' to ancestoral place names is common in Tamil Nadu e.g., *Rajgopalachariar*. In the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the names *Ahuja*, *Ojha* or *Jha* meaning reciter are common. Mr. Roy has given us a list of surnames, of English people and the Hindus, based on occupation having similar meaning.

Hindu surnames according to occupation	English surnames according to occupation
1. Vais, Vanik, Krisak, Krishan, Chasi	1. Farmer, Husbandman, Merchant
2. Mochi	2. Cobbler

Hindu surnames according to occupation	English surname according to occupation
3. Jailey or Dhibar	3. Fisher or Fisherman
4. Swarnkar	4. Gold Smith
5. Karmakar	5. Black Smith
6. Kumbhakar	6. Potter
7. Tehsildar or Borat	7. Treasurer
8. Purohit	8. Priest, Pope, Bishop
9. Appa	9. Peter
10. Nayak or Senanayak	10. Leader
11. Pathak, Uppadhya, Odha or Ahuja, Jha, Acharya or Charia	11. Reader
12. Dalal	12. Broker
13. Malakar or Mali	13. Gardener
14. Raj Kumar	14. Prince
15. Rajah, Roy, Rai, Ray or Rae, Rao and Chakravarty and Bhuiya	15. King, Baron, Duke
16. Tantubaya	16. Waver
17. Rishi	17. Sage, Hermit
18. Mohant	18. Monk
19. Aya, Bish, or Bishi, Swamy, Goswami or Gosain, Prabhu, Iswar (Ayar or Iyer and Ayengar or Iyengar, the diminutive form of Sanskrit word 'Arya').[32]	19. Lord

2.8 Suffix and Name endings

To sum up the discussion it would not be out of place to mention certain name suffixes and Name-endings used by the Brahmanas and Kshtriyas of nor-

thern India. Brahmanas generally used the word
'*Sarman*' (as provided in Visnu Purana) as a suffix to
their personal names.[38-41] The words '*Dviveda*',
'*Trivedi*' and '*Chaturvedi*' were, in all probability, used
as name ending of those Brahmanas who had special-
ised in the knowledge of two, three and four vedas
respectively.[42-46] '*Agnihotri*' was used as a suffix
to one's name by those Brahmanas who would put
the *Ahutis* in the sacred fire '*Dikshita*' was used by
a person who had received the formal initiation and
the '*Pathaka*' was reserved for the recitors of sacred
texts. *Swamina* was another epithet used by the
Brahmanas who happened to be the leaders of a *Matha*.
They are said to have been devotees of Lord Shiva and
are associated with the *Natha Sect*[17]. Lastly, '*Misra*'
was an epithet given to those Brahmanas who happened
to enjoy the ministerial status in Royal Courts.

'Sinha' and 'Varmana' were the two common words
suffixed to the personal names of 'Kshatriyas'. But
'*Deva*' and '*Pala*' were other two name-endings. The
Princes used the epithet '*Rajputra*' and this word is
conspicuous for having given the name of Rajputana
to that region where Rajputs settled. They do not mix
with the ordinary Kshatriyas and claim to have preserved
their purity of blood.[48]

'*Rauta*' and '*Thakur*' fall in a mixed category of
name-endings. They were used both by Brahmanas
and Kshatriyas. *Rauta* was used even by the Kshatriyas
of Rajputana. Mr Vasudev Upadhyaya suggests that
it was neither a 'surname' nor any designation of the
Brahmanas or Kshatriyas. It has been mostly used
as a prefix with the personal names. Probably it was
a corrupt form of *Rajyachyuta* (i.e. one who has fallen
down from a royal position). Thus Brahmanas and
Kshatriyas who were related to royal families but were
not heirs to the throne used the word '*Rauta*' as a prefix.
Some scholars are of the view that '*Rauta*' is a corrupt
form of Rajputra. The second significant title was

"*Thakura*'. It was used by the Brahmanas of Central India. It was most probably given to those Brahmanas who were engaged in worship of a certain deity. Thus there are many Brahmanas who were '*Rauta*' but their sons and grandsons adopted the name prefix "*Thakura*'. '*Rauta*' is said to have been a military designation and was given to any Brahmana or Kshatriya who distinguished himself as a reputed warrior.[49]

A new nomenclature was introduced during the 'barbarian period', and became fashionable among Kshatriyas. Some of the more common name-ending will indicate the character of the change. '*Gupta*', 'Protector' was originally a Sudra or Vaisya name. '*Guha*', 'Secret' was an aboriginal Nishada name. '*Varma*', 'Shield' was of Central Asian origin and became a cognoman for Kshatriya. '*Sena*', 'warrior' was used in Bengal for the children of concubines of Brahmins[50] but is now adopted by the nobility. '*Bhat*', 'mercenary' became a popular name for a warrior. '*Putra*', 'son', "*Datta*', 'gift', *Simha*', 'lion', were honorific suffixes assumed by foreign princes. This convention was firmly established by the time of the great Sanskrit dramas and *Kavyas*, and even courtesans who figured in these works were frequently given names ending in *Datta*, *Sena* or *Siddha*.[51]

3 Change of surname in Women

A woman loses the caste of her father, after she is married, (caste here means family name) and passes to that of her husband. Marriage does not result only in her physical transfer, but is often made to adopt a new surname. The custom of giving a new personal name, however, is progressively becoming out of fashion. To quote Dr Madan, 'the effect of this change in her emotional life is, of course, immense'. Of late there has been brewing up a sense of revolt among the Indian women, of course elite ones, against the age old tradition of adopting the surname of husband and discarding the paternal appalation. A women's magazine published

a fascinating report on the phenomenon of surnames and woman in the West and appealed to its Indian readers to do away with the practice of making themselves an appendage of their male spouses. It wrote that "in the wake of the woman's liberation movement that swept across the West as a whirlwind (and ended as a whimper in the international women's year), a law had been enacted in West Germany permitting the husband to add his wife's surname to his own name.

However, after 3 years, the Registrar of Hamburg found that only two per cent of bridegrooms opted to take on the bride's surname. To give a thrust to the movement, the authorities decided to allow even the men who had married before the new law came into force to adopt the wife's surname. There was a momentary rush to grab the 'maiden name', but it soon subsided.

The Registrar of Hamburg feels that there are not many men who want to forego their ancient rights. 'There is also the fact that fathers exert pressure on their sons just before they step before the Registrar.'

In India, man has no 'ancient right' to change the name of the woman he marries. Even in the days of epics, women kept their names separate from their fathers/husbands. Sita was never known as Kumari Sita Janak or Shrimati Sita Ram. She has always remained as Sita Devi.

It is not known why Indian woman should imitate their Western counterparts in adding the men's name to their own. It is a pity that while the western women are trying to have parity by compelling some of their men to adopt woman's surnames, Indian women are adjectly surrendering their age old rights to men".[52]

4 Structure

4.1 South Indian

By and large South India has resisted the influence of Europe on the structure of its names. Family name

could not establish itself beyond the Vindyas. However, in some recent cases the caste name is being used as a surname using the preceding words as initials. But generally the caste name is subordinated to the personal name and is written either as separate word after the personal name or compounded with personal name. Normally the last word in the name is the given name.

4.11 Tamil

Tamil name, normally consists of three or more words which in succession denote the name of the place of birth, given name of the father and the given name of the person concerned. The most potent word in such names is the word denoting the personal name of the individual.

4.12 Kanarese

The collection of words contributing to the given name, in Kanarese cultural group, is far more numerous than the collection of words contributing to the family name. Quite against the North Indian names the personal name is more potent word in a Kanarese name than the family name. The people of North, on the other hand follow the practice of Maharashtrians in the structure of their names. This is quite different from the practice followed by the majority of Kannada speaking people.

4.13 Telugu

A Telugu name consists of a large group of words. They are pre-substantive, substantive and post-substantive. The pre-substantive is comprised of either the profession, name of an ancestor, an attribute, name of a god-father, an auxiliary or a descriptive word.

4.14 Ayyangar and Ayyar

An Ayyangar name is hard to pronounce. *Acharya* is a part of their ethos. They name their children

after the several names of Vishnu. Old fashioned names for girls are now no more in vogue. *Ayyars* follow a cumberous process of naming. Nick names are common among them and they often overshadow the real names. *Ayyars* have long and complex names and such unwieldly names often create awkward and comic situations.

4.15 Baffling Names

The South Indian names present a baffling phenomenon for a North Indian. They feel difficulty in pronouncing them rightly. Sardar Khushwant Singh writes that, "what I cannot pronounce, I never get to know. I had this trouble with South Indian names. As a result I never got to know my Dravidian cousins or their problems as well as I should. Am I being facetious ? No. Please try out any of the following: *Magizhanan* or *Madiazhan, Nedunchezian, Azhagias-ingar* or even *Era Sezhiyan.* They tie up my tongue into knots and by the time I regain my speech the names are out of my head. Then there are others which only those endowed with the stamina of cross-country runners can complete e.g., *Tangataru Prakasam Pan-tulu Garu, Mayavaram Chidemberanatha Viathialingam Swamigol,* or *Mahabalipuram Swaminatha Venka-tasubramania Ghanapatikal.* And how does a simple-minded Sardar like me cope with a Tamilian lass with so tough a name as *Alamelumangathayaramma?* She is not likely to forget a man with an easy name like Singh nor the hirsute impression he leaves on her labials . . .such names are formidable barriers to understanding. I suggest the National Integration Council consider simplification of South Indian names as a step towards achieving a more harmonious relationship between he Dravidan South and the Aryan North."[53] An irritated South Indian gentleman soon retorted back with the remarks that "neither is the South Dravidan nor is the North Aryan or the country Indian. British and Muslim dress, language, manners, customs have

affected Indians like leprosy, affecting one part or the other (to improve on E. M. Forster).

Simplification of the identification symbols, name and dress may be beautification for some but deformity for others. To simplify Jawahar Lal Nehru and Moti Lal Nehru as J. L. Nehru and M. L. Nehru is unthinkable. The South Indian names are simpler, more Aryan, more Indian, more national, more sonorous than the Northern ones. Is not Veerandra Patil simpler than Rao Birendra Singh? Is not Channa Reddy less involved than Chananjit Chanana? Thanks to English. Prof. Gogineni Ranga Nayakulu simplified himself as N. G. Ranga as early as the freedom struggle, Rajgopalachari was made Rajaji. The South Indians have a better sense of national integration. They name their children after northern deities also: *Visvanatham, Jagannatham, Badrinatham, Gangamma, Gangayya.* There are several Gandhis, Nehrus, Patels, Tilaks, Gokhales, Lajpat Rais, Eswarachandra Vidyasagars, Rajendra Prasads, Tagores, Bankims, Arivinda Ghoshes in the South. I have yet to come across a Pattabhi in Punjab, a Rajaji in Rajasthan, a Prakasam in U.P. The southerners do not name their children after Demons. *Inderjeet*, the son of Ravana is unthinkable though several North Indians name their children after him. It is a taboo to have a name or surname after a wild lion as in *Singh*. We go in for humanised lions like Narasimha Rao, Narsimhan etc. Karunanidhi is more precise than Dayananda Sagar. The South Indian names have a tendency to change in accordance with different stages in life, affluence or adversity. Gopi is my pet name in the family, Gopalam among close relatives. Goppayya, a respectable diminutive used by our farm workers. These days people are going in for *Kumars* which become ludicrous in old age."[54]

4.2 Bengali

Surnames were used in Bengal by the middle of the nineteenth century. The practice became more

common after the advent of British. Many Bengali sur-
names became anglicized in form and spelling as a
result of contact with Western influence and surnames
are still in process of change. Honorifics academic,
vocational and patronymic words were given the status
of family name. This was made the last word in a
name. Moreover, the given name was split into two
words, while contracting the given name, the initial
letters of each of its parts are preceded by the surname.
The composition of a Bengali name is thus:

(*a*) the proper or personal name;

(*b*) Padantta used to complete the proper name;
and

(*c*) family name or surname

The number of words available for use as family name
is not more than a few hundreds.

4.3   Hindi

In Uttar Pradesh and other Hindi speaking areas,
family names came into vogue in the nineteenth cen-
tury. R. S. Sexana remarks that after the middle of
the nineteenth century 'imitation of the English form
of using Christian names and surnames appeared'. Family
names are generally different from the gotra names.
They are patronymics of one kind or the other. Castes
and subcastes were also used as surnames. Again as
in Bengal, the given name is broken into two parts.
Given name is used, sometimes without a surname, in
the split form, as two distinct words. But people
remember them as a single word. For example:

(*i*) Rajendra Prasad Srivastava (*ii*) Sriman Narayan
Aggarwal

1	2	3	1	2	3
(given name)		(Family name dropped)	(given name)		(Family name dropped)

4.4 Maharashtrian Names

In Maharashtra patronymic surnames had been in use for several centuries. Mahamahopadhyaya Poddar, the Maharashtrian historian told Dr Ranganathan that lists of such surnames are now in possession of priests. These are different from gotra names. They are based upon the names of ancestral village, profession or trade. Due to European influence, they were brought into public use by being added at the end of the name even as Western family names. This became a common practice about the middle of the nineteenth century. The given name is often contracted into initials. The number of Maharashtra surnames is quite large. A Maharashtrian name is, therefore, quite non-homonymons.

4.5 Gujrati

In Gujrat the structure of a name is similar to that in Maharashtrian. The function of each word in a name, taken in succession is also similar to that in Maharashtrian name. The evolution of structure has also been identical. However, in some Gujrati names, the fathers given name may not occur.

4.6 Parsee

The given name of a Parsee is followed by the father's personal name. In many cases it is, however, further followed by an occupational or caste name, e.g.,

1. Manik Ji Rostamji: Manik Ji is the personal name, and Rostam Ji is the father's name.

2. Dinshaw Rustamji Mehta: Dineshaw is the personal name, and Rustamji is father's name, Mehta is surname.

4.7 Punjabi

A Punjabi name generally consists of two words, written separately, but conveying a meaning only when

read as a compound. The second word in a Punjabi name, as in Bengali names, did not fossilise into a family name or a surname. It is used as a complimentary word. Opprobrious names are not rare in East Punjab. Muslim influence in the composition of a Punjabi name is also discernible.

4.71 Sikh

The personal name of a Sikh is usually followed by the word Singh. Singh is not used independently. Some Sikhs use a caste name as the last word in their names. It may be pointed out that all Sikhs are called Singhs but all Singhs are not Sikhs. Rajputs and Jats also use the word Singh with their names. Sikhs have a limited number of given names. Women are using now the Hindu names. Given names are borrowed both from Hindu and Muslim names. Sikh surnames are generally same as those of Hindus.

4.72 Khatri

Khatri surnames like Bhatia, Bhandari, Chopra, Chowdhri, Dhawan, Kakar, Kapoor, Khanna, Kochhar, Mahendru, Sami, Sahni, Sethi, Tandan, Uppal, Vohra etc., are commonly used among Hindus of Punjab.

Common Surnames of India

Acharekar	Bagave	Chadda
Acharya	Bajpeyi	Chakarvarti
Achaval	Bakshi	Chakldar
Adavant	Bal	Chanda
Adhya	Banahatti	Chandar
Adhikari	Banerji	Chandra
Adwani	Bandyopadhyay	Chunder
Agarval	Barigar	Chatterji
Ahuja	Barman	Chattopadhyay
Ajarekar	Barvadekar	Chattaraj
Ajagavakar	Basak Bhagavat	Chaturvedi
Altekar	Bhardvaj	Chaube

Anagal	Bhatavadekar	Chaudhari
Ashtekar	Bhavalakar	Chetti
Ashtikar	Bhave	Chettiyar
Atal	Bhosale	Chinai
Athalya	Bhagat	Chinnaya
Athawale	Bhandari	Chipalunakar
Avate	Bhat	Chiramule
Ayyar	Bhate	Chitale
Ayyangar	Bhatia	Chitanis
Badakar	Bhatta	Choraghad
Barigai	Bhattacharya	Chokse
Bagchi	Bhaumik	Chopade
Bage	Burve	Chaube
Choksi	Dikshit	Gulati
	Divakar	Gupta
Dalavi	Divekar	Gooptu
Damalo	Dongare	Gupte
Dandavate Das	Dhavale	Gurnani
Dass	Dugar	
Dastur	Dutt	Hait
Datta	Dvivedi	Hajrika
Dattachaudhuri		Hajra
Dhavale	Gadkari	Haldar
Dave	Ganapule	Handu
Dayal	Gayadhani	Hanamante
Dev	Gangopadhyay	Haradas
Devabhakt	Ganguli	Harish
Devdhar	Gaur	Hati
Devi	Gayakvad	Haoldar
Deshpande	Gharapure	Havaldar
Deshmukh	Gaur	Hom
Devarukhkar	Gazdar	Hore
Devabha	Gogate	Hudalikar
Devadhikar	Ghoshal	Hegadi
Devakule	Ghosh	Heravdakar
Dhavale	Gil	
Dhebar	Guha	Jadhav
Dhibar	Gore	Jagatap
Dhobe	Goswami	Javadekar

Dhole	Goyal	Jayavant
Jog	Limbu	
Jogalekar		Mittal
Jahlakikar	Madagulakar	Mitra
Joshi	Mahalanabis	Mitter
	Mahanta	Mahanta
Kakade	Mahanti	Mahendra
Karakare	Mahapatra	Maitra
Katadare	Mahendra	Mukharji
Karve	Mahata	Mukhtar
Kamath	Mahata	Mule
Kanungo	Maiti	More
Kapade	Maitra	Maulik
Kapadia	Mandalik	Mudaliyar
Kapathi	Mujumdar	Munshi
Kapudia	Mal	Munsif
Kapuria	Malhotra	Mustafi
Kapil	Mallaya	Muzumdar
Kapur	Malik	
Kashyap	Malviya	Naidu
Kayal	Manglik	Naik
Khasagivale	Marathe	Narakhede
Kahmavant	Marwah	Navathe
Kochar	Maulik	Nayar
Kundu	Mahta	Nambiyar
Kusari	Mayadev	Nambisan
Kramavant	Mehrotra	Nan
	Mirchandani	Nanavati
Lal	Misra	Nandi
Narayan	Parachure	Roychaudhuri
Nath	Pataki	Randhawa
Nayak	Patvardhan	Rau/Rao
Nayar	Patel	Rathor
Nijasure	Patil	Raut
Niyogi	Pathak	Reilly
	Phatak	
Oak/Ojha	Pati	Sabanis
Oagle	Patnaik	Sagar
Padagavakar	Patro	Sane

Padhi
Padhya
Pal
Palesule
Panda
Pande
Pandey
Pandya
Panikkar
Pandit
Panja
Panji
Punja
Parkhi
Parekh
Parikh
Paranjape

Sud
Shukla

Talavalakar
Tamhanakar .
Tavade
Thakre
Thacker
Thakore
Thakur
Thomare
Thombare
Tipanis
Tivari
Upadhyay
Upandhye
Upalekar
Upasani, Vad
Vadekar, Vagh
Vagale, Vaikar
Vaze, Vaknis

Pavagi
Phadke
Phadanis
Phadatare
Pilla
Pillai
Poddar
Prabhu
Purkait
Purkayastha
Purshit

Rai
Rajavade
Ranadive
Rangankar
Ray/Roy
Raychaudhari
Vakaskar
Valimbe
Varti
Vatave
Vir
Viswan
Vyas
Vaish

Sanchi
Sanyal
Sardar
Sarin/Satavalekar
Savant
Sarkar
Shelake
Shevade
Shiravadakar
Sirasikar
Swarup
Sastri
Sethi
Sharif
Shastri
Sonakar
Sonekar
Srivastav

5

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CHAPTER C

KASHMIRI SURNAMES

1 Origin

Although Kashmiris are said to be the true speci-
men of Aryan race, yet the last authoritative word
about their origin has not been said so far. Scholars
are divided on the question of the ancestory of Kash-
miris. However, many Western and Indian scholars
have argued that Kashmiri Pandits, without any doubt,
belong to Aryan race. Pandit Anand Koul says, "it
is certain that it (Kashmir) was a colony of Aryan im-
migrants from Central Asia. Their features and fair
complexion be speak them of the inner Aryan race"[1].
Thompson is of the view that the Aryans were a long
headed race of tall stature with narrow noses and fair
complexion. Their purest representatives are found
today mainly in Kashmir. Monier Williams declared
the Kashmiri Pandits as the finest type of Aryan race.[2]
George Campbell says that the Kashmiris are quite
High-Aryan in the type of their features—very fair
and handsome, with high chiselled features, and no
trace of inter-mixture of the blood of any lower race.[3]

Our concern is not to dispute with the views of
learned scholars quoted above but only to be acquainted
with all shades of opinion and views. Mr Bamzi is
right when he says, "So far no ethnological survey of
the Kashmiri people has been conducted, and we have
only to depend upon superficial and general affinities
which clearly point to their being physically allied to
the people living in the region of Chitral, Gilgit, Afghan-
istan and Punjab. These Nodics who infiltrated into
Kashmir are identical with the ancestors of the Dard
speaking tribes, the *Paisachas* of the Sanskrit literature.[4]

Legend describes the sage Kashyapa as the leader
of colonisers of the valley. He is said to have under-

gone severe penances, killed the water demon of *Satisara*, drained out the stagnant water, and finally established a colony of his followers. Kashyapa, although an eminent Vedic Rishi, is said to have belonged to a non-Aryan stock. Even legend describes him "the father of all creatures including Nagas and Pisachas." The legend of Nilamata Purana describes in detail the stiff opposition and long controversy of Nagas and Pisachas to the Aryan immigrants. We have discussed in detail the origin and the history of Nagas in India and Kashmir in Chapter B. It would not be, therefore, out of place to have a brief introduction with the Pisachas of yore who, if recent researches are any indication, might have been one among many of our ancestors.

2 Pisachas

Legend classifies them with fiends and evil spirits. The Vedas have placed them lower than the Rakshasas (Ogres), and amongst the most vile and noxious of beings. They are said to have been residing at cemeteries, devouring corpses and causing malignant diseases. Accounts differ as to their origin. The Brahmana and the Mahabharata say that they were created by Brahma, together with the *Asuras* and *Rakshasas*, from the stray drops of water which fell apart from the drops out of which gods, men, gandharvas etc., had been produced. According to Manu they sprang from the *Prajapatis*. In the Puranas they are represented as the offspring of *Kashyapa* by his wife *Krodhavasa* or *Pisacha*, or *Kapisa*.[5]

The Nilamata describes them as friends of Daityas, dwelling in an Oasis, in the middle of the sea of sand. In Kashmir they lived under the leadership of *Nikumba*. As a result of Kashyapa's curse on the *Nagas*, the *Pisachas* occupied the valley of Kashmir for six months each year. This account refers to the human character of the *Pisachas*.[6]

As already pointed out that they were the ancestors of the Dards, there is nothing to disbelieve that they, finding the climate of the valley warmer than the in-

hospitable regions of the North and East, came down
to occupy the valley of Kashmir for the winter months.
Mr Bamzi quotes a statement of Drew to substantiate
the theory of seasonal migration. "Further East (of
Padar) across the glaciers lies the inaccessible country
of Zanskar where the people and cattle live indoor for
six months out of the year, where trees are scarce and
food is scarcer. Farthest east is Rupshu, the lowest
point of which is 13,500 feet. In Rupshu live the
nomad champas, who are able to work in an air of extra-
ordinary rarity and complain bitterly of the heat of
Leh."[7] And this is, perhaps, the only reason that they
would leave the valley with the first sign of coming of
Spring.

Although once held to be non-Aryan aboriginals,
and usually assigned a home in the Vindhya regions,
they are now believed to have been of Mongolian
affinity. The Mahabharata refers to the north-west
as their home; they are thought to have belonged to the
region immediately South of the Hindu Kush and may
have been Scythians. They are described as reddish
in appearance and as formidable opponents in war.
The *Rig-Veda* records a prayer to Indra against them in
the battle.

Their language *Paisachi* acquired fame through
Gunadhya's tale, *Brihat Katha*, and their *Pisacha* form
of marriage was recognised in the later Aryan social
system. Their skill in Surgery was such that this
science was referred to in the *Gopatha Brahmana* as the
Pisacha Veda.[8]

3 Panchagaudas

Geographically the Brahmanas are divided into two
groups (*i*) *Panchagaudas* residing the north of Vindhyas
and (*ii*) *Pancha Dravidas* residing south of the Vindhyas.
The *Panchagaudas* consist of *Kanyakubja*, *Sarasvata*,
Gauda, *Mithala* and *Utkala* branches, whereas *Pancha
Dravidas* consist of the *Mahavashtriyan*, *Telgu*, *Dravida*
Karnataka and *Malabar* branches.[9]

3.1 Sarasvats

Kashmiri Pandits, with a few exceptions, belong to the category of Sarasvat Brahmans. There is also a Vaisya caste, but it is very small in number and is found only in some towns. However, classifying them as a Vaisya caste is disputed by many. They claim themselves to be the descendants of purest of Brahmanas. There is, according to Prof. Madan, some divergence of views regarding the Sarasvats of other parts of India and Kashmir being one single caste. Some of his informants claim that Kashmiri Brahmanas are distinct from others linking their caste to the goddess Sarasvati, while according to Mr Madan, Sarasvats as a whole derive their name from the river Sarasvati.[10] He further refers to *Jatimala* where Sarasvats and Kashmiri Brahmans are mentioned separately, and at the same time refers to the Sarasvat Brahmans of Western coast claiming their descent from Kashmiri Brahmans.[11] So far as the separate mention of Kashmiri and Sarasvat Brahmans is concerned it does not prove that the Kashmiri Brahmans belong to some non-Sarasvat caste. It is a matter of cross classification only. A Maharashtrian, a Gujrati or a Punjabi can belong to both the categories of Sarasvat and Maharashtrian, Gujrati or Punjabi Brahmans. Further modern scholars believe that Sarasvati river and the goddess *Sarasvati* are, in fact, only one entity, the latter having originated from the myth surrounded over the former. It may, therefore, be necessary to peep through the mist of myth and legend to find out their real identity and mutual relationship.

3.11 Sarasvati river

In the Mahabharata the *Rishi Sarasvata* is represented as being the son of the personified river *Sarasvati*. In a time of great drought he was fed with fish by his mother and so was enabled to keep up his knowledge of the Vedas, while other Brahmans were reduced to such straits for the means of subsistence that study

was neglected and the Vedas were lost. When the drought was over, the Brahmans flocked to him for instruction from him. "This legend" says, Wilson "appears to indicate to revival, or, more probably, the introduction of the Hindu ritual by the race of Brahmans, or the people called Sarasvats", who dwelt near the Sarasvati river.[12]

3.12 Sarasvati goddess

Sarasvati has been described primarily a river, in the Vedas, but is celebrated in hymns both as a river and a deity. As a river goddess, she is lauded for ferti-lising and purifying powers of her waters, and as the bestower of fertility, fatness and wealth. Her position as *Vach*, the goddess of speech, finds no mention in the Rig-Veda, but is recognised by the Brahmanas and the Mahabharata. Dr Muir endeavours to account for her acquisition of this character. He says, "when once the river had acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were celebrated on the margin of her holy waters and that her direction and blessing should be invoked as essential to their proper perfor-mance and success. The connection into which she was thus brought with sacred rites may have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns which formed so important a part of the proceedings, and of identifying her with *Vach*, the goddess of speech".[13]

3.13 Religious Practices

It is thus clear, that the Sarasvats of Kashmir are in no way different from the Sarasvats of plains, so far as their origin is concerned. But there is a wide diffe-rence in their religious beliefs and social customs. The earliest inhabitants of Kashmir, probably, cherished some aboriginal beliefs the details of which are not traceable now, the *Naga* worship being one of them. After the fall of Buddhism, in Kashmir, the Shaivism

with all the vigour was re-introduced. Though exact
date and circumstances leading to the introduction of
Shaivism in the valley are shrouded in a mystery, yet
the archaeologists have discovered traces of Shiva wor-
ship to the remote past. "It is not known, whether
the *Shiva* of Kashmir was an immigrant from the neigh-
bouring Indus valley or was of local origin. The con-
ception of *Rudra-Shiva* of the Vedic Aryans perhaps
might have had some influence on the development and
early growth of Shaivism in the valley... whatever
might have been the origin of Shaivism in Kashmir
there is no doubt that Shiva as a popular deity was
widely worshipped in the valley from a remote past."[11]
Early Shaivism was of the *Pasupati* cult.[15] Mahabharata
states that the doctrine of *Pasupata* was preached first
by Shiva Srikantha. He was regarded in the valley as the
promulgator of *Shivagama* or *Agamanta Shaivism*[16]
which included within itself system of *Pasupata*.
Pasupati is one of many names of *Rudra*, who is believed
to be the 'lord of creatures'. Kashmiris have been,
thus, worshipping the Lord Shiva in the form of *Maha
Rudra*, the Lord of all Rudras.

3.14 Rudra

Rudra has been defined as a 'howler or roarer; the
terrible', 'the rudy one'. In the Vedas *Rudra* has many
attributes and many names. He is the howling terrible
god, the god of storms, the father of the *Rudras* or
Maruts, and is sometimes identified with the god of
fire. On the one hand, he is a destructive deity who
brings diseases upon men and cattle, and upon the
other he is a beneficent deity supposed to have a healing
influence. These are the germs which afterwards de-
veloped into the god Siva. It is worthy of note that
Rudra is first called *Maha-deva* in the white Yajurveda.
As applied to the god Shiva, the name of Rudra generally
designates him in his destructive character.[17]

In the *Brihadaranyakaupanishada* the Rudras are
the vital breaths (*Praa*), the heart (*Manas*) being the

eleventh. Their number is often discrepently given as three, seven, or eleven, sometimes even more. In some legends, the *Rudras* are the seven manifestations of the god *Rudra*. According to the *Vishnupurana*, Rudra sprang from a drop of blood which fell into the fire when *Brahma* once scratched himself as he wiped the perspiration from his brow with a piece of sacrificial wood. Brahma commanded *Rudra* to divide himself into male and female, then to multiply into eleven beings, and of these some were black and ferocious and some white and gentle. They were (*i*) *Mrigvyadha*, (*ii*) *Sarpa*, (*iii*) *Nirriti*, (*iv*) *A Jaikapada*, (*v*) *Ahirbudhnya*, (*vi*) *Pinakin*, (*vii*) *Dahana*, (*viii*) *Kapalin*, (Skull holding, a name also given to Shiva), (*ix*) *Sthanu*, (*x*) *Bhaga* and (*xi*) *Tryambaka*. In other legends again the eleven Rudras are the sons of the rishi *Kashyapa* by *Surabhi*.[18]

Yet another legend relates that a Brahmin desired a son, and a youth appeared to him. When the Brahmin asked his name the youth wept and the Brahman named him *Rudra*, 'weeper'. The lad wept seven times more and was given seven more names: *Bhava*, *Sarva*, *Isana*, *Pashupati*, *Bhima*, *Ugra*, *Mahadeva*.[19]

Rudra's essential importance lies in the fact that in later mythology he evolved into Shiva and grew to great prominence in the Hindu Pantheon. Generally the name *Rudra* when applied to Shiva denotes Shiva's destructive character.[20]

3.15 Sakti Worship

Besides worshipping Lord Shiva in his *Rudra* form, Kashmiri Pandits are devout worshippers of the *Sakti*, the consort of Shiva. Each family alleges its devotion and allegiance to one of the three manifestations of the goddess *Durga* e.g., *Sharika*, *Ragiya* and *Jawala*. Various religious rites performed by the Pandits of Kashmir are said to be according to *Charanaia Kathka School*. The Sutras of *Laguksha* follow this school and guide all the rites from birth to death. Moreover, certain aboriginal beliefs and practices like, *Yaksha*

Puja, *Daittya* Puja etc., are also observed strictly. Census report of 1911 refers Kashmiri Pandits as *Shakites* or *Tantrikas* and later Western scholars have also referred to a host of Tantarik practices being followed by them. *Tantara* is said to be a later religious development. Prominence is given to the female energy of the deity, his active nature being personified in the person of his Sakti. Tantaras are generally devoted to one of the manifold forms of *Devi*, the *Sakti* of Shiva, "*Devi*, as the Sakti of Shiva, is the especial energy concerned with sexual intercourse and magical powers".[21] The Tantaric worship of Kashmiris seems to have been more influenced by the *Vamachar* than by the *Dakshanachar* (a more decent form). Speaking satirically about the performance of the Brahmanas, Kshemendara writes, "Being addicted to *Vamachar*, bent upon taking wine; having set at naught the piety of his clan, with a plate of fish meat in his hand; he comes reading for scriptures".[22]

However, the Tantaric practices in Kashmir, in spite of being *Vamachari*, did not degenerate to such a low level as they did elsewhere in India. Dayanand Saraswati, speaking on Garwal Tantaras, writes that incest even with mothers, daughters, sisters and low-born maids of outcastes was practised. Worship of gods was done in a perfectly nude state. *Madhya* (liquor), *Meena* (fish), *Mans* (flesh), *Mudra* (naked worshipping) and *Maithuna* (sexual intercourse) were considered as the best means of salvation.[23]

4 Social Organisation

Socially Kashmiri Pandits are divided into 199 exagamous sections (*gotras*). The founders of these gotras are said to be some *Rishis* or an inspired saint. The social prestige of a group used to be determined by the spiritual superiority of the founder of the group (i.e., *gotra*). But in reality the social position is determined by the occupation followed by a certain family. An occupation promising better material prospects,

leaving aside certain occupations to which an
unreasonable hatred has been developed through
generations, command more social respect and prestige.
A fast reformation is taking place in the Pandit out-
look of occupations. Government Service, till recently,
was considered to be the best of all. But with the rapid
growth of industries and private sector, and also the
indirect restrictions imposed on Government Service for
Pandits, they are increasingly flocking towards private
sector. Moreover, the private sector employment
promises better avenues of promotion and reward of
the talent. Various Government enactments and
labour laws have made these private sector jobs more
secure than even the Government jobs. Trade and com-
merce are also now preferred to the Government jobs
and age-old apathy is giving way to more and more
enthusiasm to enter those fields. Development of
tourism and allied industries has brought this welcome
change in their age-old rusted thinking. However,
old habits died hard and it will take another one or two
generations to emancipate them fully from the old
prejudices and complexes.

4.1 Gotras

Brahmanas all over India considered themselves
superior to all other castes and creeds. They prided
on their divine origin. It is said that once a Brahmana
was performing a sacrifice, there came forth from it
the Seven Rishis—*Bhrign, Angiras, Marichi, Atri,
Paulaha, Pulastya* and *Vasistha.* The Brahmanical
sects were likewise supposed to derive their origin from
seven *Rishis,* though not exactly the seven just named
of whom the fifth, *Paulaha,* brought forth demons
(*Raksasas*), and the sixth, *Pulastya,* devils (*Pisachas*),
while the seventh *Vasistha,* died and appeared again as
a descendant of *Marichi.* Then, as *Bhrign* and *Angiras,*
owning to their mythical character, could not properly
be represented as founders of families, their place is
taken in the Brahmanical theory by other three ancestors,
Bhrign being superseded by *Jamadagni,* and the *Angiras*

by *Gautama* and *Bhardvaja*. In the *Satpatha Brah-mana*, accordingly the seven Rhisis enumerated as an-cestors are *Gautama, Bhardvaja, Visvamitra, Jama-dagni, Vasistha, Kashyapa* and *Atri*. To these traditions add an eighth, *Agastya*, and thus the Brahma-nical clans (*Gotras*) are in reality traced to eight ances-tors. These rank as *Gotrakarins*—the founders of numerous Brahmanical families, and their descendants are the various gotras.[24]

4.2 Number of Gotras

There has been a considerable difference of opinion regarding the exact number of gotras at a given time. *Mahabharata* restricts their number to four only.[25] But *Bodhyana* raises the number to eight. He, at the same time, describes their number in crores with forty-nine *Pravaras*. He recognises the descendants of *Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Bhardvaja, Gautama, Atri, Vasistha, Kashyapa,* and *Agastya* as the real gotras[26]. A pravara contains three or five most ancient

विश्वामित्रो जगदग्नि भरद्वाजा गौतमः ।

अत्रिवसिष्ठः कश्यप इयेते सप्त ऋषयः

सप्तानामृषीणामगस्त्याष्टमानांयदपरं तद् गोत्रमित्युच्यते ॥

(*Mantardrashta*) *rishis* like eight *gotra* founders. Modern scholars are also not having any unanimity of views regarding the number of gotras. Mr. Rao holds that the original eight families of *Gotrakarins* were supplemented by ten more and that the latter consisted of Brahmanas who had for a time followed the vocations of *Kshatriyas* and had become Brahmins again, regarding themselves as descended either from *Bhrign* or from *Angiras*.[27] Mr. Venkatarama states the number of Rhisis as seven. Four of them are human beings. But eighteen groups arose out of these four ...Ten out of eighteen families were of the *Ksatriya* origin. *Bhrgu* took into his fold four *Ksatriyas* who were also makers of hymns[28]. "Kashmiri Brahmins

are said to have originaly belonged to only six gotras, viz., *Dattatreya, Bhardwaja, Paladeva, Mudgalya* and *Dhaumyayana.* By intermarriage with other Brahmins the number of gotras multiplied to 199."[29] Census Report of 1911 states the number of gotras of Kashmiri Pandits to be 133 and describes them the direct descendant of *Kashyapa Rishi.* There is a note in the margin saying that the original gotras did not exceed six and the remaining 127 gotras came into existence due to intermixture with other Brahmans. Mr. Ganjoo does not agree with the remarks of Census report of 1911. He states, "this is a very sweeping remark which is not corroborated by any historical fact. Each and every Kashmiri Brahman traces his descent from a particular *Rishi* or inspired saint whose name they bear as their own *Gotra. Kashyapa* was one of the *Rishis* who made the valley habitable and Kashmiri Brahmans do not believe to have descended from him."[30]

5 Rishi

It would not be out of place to have a brief introduction with the real character of some of the *Gotrakarin Rishis* and the role they played in the social life of yore. The origin of the term '*Rishi*' is not certain. Some derive it from the term *Ras,* '*Yell*', while others consider it to have originated from a word meaning 'flow'. In Sanskrit literature, the term is applied to a Sage, Patriarch, Cellestial Poet, Wizard and Mage, and in general a rishi was an elder possessed of extraordinary power and wisdom.

Puranas describe him as a lover of solitude living in a forest or a mountain either alone or with a small group consisting of his family and disciples. His home was known as an '*Ashrama*'.

5.1 Kinds

Several kinds of rishis are distinguished, such as *Prajapati, Saptrishi, Siddamanu, Natha, Pitri,* and so on. These designations are sometimes used inter-

changeably, and a *Maharishi*, may be a *Prajapati* or *Saptrishi* or a *Brahma Rishi*. Our study being limited to Brahmans, a brief introduction of *Brahmarishi* may be given.[31]

5.11 Brahmarishi

The Brahma created sages, also called the *Divja-Rishis*, (twice born Sages). They are the reputed founders of the Brahman *gotras*. *Brahmarishis* figure prominently in the community system of brahmin families. There is a great deal of inconsistency about them. They are variously and confusingly listed in *Brahmanas*, Epics and *Puranas*, but seven or eight traditional *Brahmarishis* are generally named from among the following: *Agastya* (non-Aryan in name and appearance): *Angiras* (either Persian or Dravidian); *Attri* (tribal priest of out caste races); *Bhardvaja: Bhirgu* (founder of Bhargavas); *Jamadagni: Kanva, Kashyapa* (non-Aryan progenitor of pre-Aryan tribes): *Vasistha; Marichi, Pulastya; Pulaha; Kratu; Gautama.*[32]

5.2 Character

Many rishis are born in extra-ordinary circumstances. In origin the rishis came from diverse stock. Some were Brahmans; many were of pre-Aryan, native origin. A few rishis used their power for good, and their presence removed diseases or drought. But as rule they were a thoroughly irascible lot and unrelenting in their vengeance. The rishis' wrath is a favourite theme in Sanskrit literature.[33]

5.21 Bhardvaja

A *Rishi* to whom many Vedic hymns are attributed. He was the son of Brahaspati and father of *Drona*, the preceptor of the *Pandavas*. The *Taittiriya Brahmana* says that "he lived through three lives" (Probably meaning a life of great length), and that he became immortal and ascended to the heavenly world, to union with the Sun". In the Mahabharata he is represented

as living at Hardwar; in the Ramayana he received *Rama* and *Sita* in his hermitage at Prayaga, which was then and afterwards much celebrated. According to some of the Puranas and the Hari-vansa, he became by gift or adoption the son of King *Bharata*, and an absurd story is told about his birth to account for his name: His mother, the wife of *Utathya*, was pregnant by her husband and by *Brihaspati*. *Dirgha-tamas*, the son of her husband, kicked his half brother out of the womb before his time, when *Brihaspati* said to his mother, '*Bhara-dwa-Jam*', 'cherish this child of two fathers'.[34]

5.22 Mudgala

A Vedic Rishi from whom the *Mudgalya* Brahmans sprang. There were several other Brahmans named *Mudgala*. A Sage of this name is recorded in the Mahabharata to have "lived a life of poverty, piety and self-restraint, offering hospitality to thousands of Brahmans, according to his humble means, with the grain which he gleaned like a pigeon, and which never underwent diminution, or rather increased again, when it was required." The choleric sage *Durvasa* went to test the patience of *Mudgala*, and six times devoured all the food which his host possessed without ruffling his temper. *Durvasa* in his admiration declared that *Mudgala* would go bodily to heaven, and the messenger of the gods arrived with his heavenly car. The sage, before accepting the invitation, desired to be informed of the joys and ills of heaven. After hearing a full explanation, he found that the enjoyments of heaven must come to a close, so he declared that he "had no desire for heaven, and would seek only that eternal abode where there is no sorrow, nor distress, nor change." He dismissed the messenger of the gods, and began to practise ascetic virtues, becoming indifferent to praise and blame, regarding clod, gold, stones, and gold as alike. Pure knowledge led to fixed contemplation; and that again imparted strength and complete comprehension, whereby he obtained supreme eternal perfection in the nature of quietude (*Nirvana*.)[85]

5.23 Dattatriya

He is a trinity in unity of *Brahma*, *Visnu* and *Siva*, representing the principles of creation, sustenance, and dissolution of the Universe. He is a son of *Atri* and *Ansuya*. He had three sons, *Soma*, *Datta* and *Durvasas*, to whom also a portion of the divine essence was transmitted. He was the patron of Kartavirya, and gave him a thousand arms.[36-37]

Pandit Dinanath Madan has published a fanciful story about the origin of *Dattatriya* in *Bahari Kashmir*. It's Urdu version has been included by Mr Fauq in his 'Twarikhi Akwami Kashmir' as follows:

"*Varsha Attri* was a famous Sanskrit scholar living in a village of Baramullah, much before the war of Mahabharata. His famous book '*Attri Dharma Sastra*' is still available in the country. He had three sons, *Dattatriya*, Durvasa and Soma. Dattatriya is a combination of two words, *Datt* plus *Attriya*. Attri along with his wife, once went on a pilgrimage to the Central India, and reached to a place known as *Chitrakot*. Those were the days of Lord Rama's exile. It is at this place that he had the privilege of being Sri Rama's guest.

Dattatriya received his initial education in Kashmir, but with the coming of youth, he like his father left his home touring and travelling Northern India. There are a number of places in Central and Western India where he is supposed to have stayed for sometime. He met *Parasar Rishi* and *Vamadeva* at *Badrak Ashram* in the Himalayas. Maharaja *Prahlad* and *Yadvan* had the privilege of receiving his *Upadesha*.

Dattatriya had a huge and powerful body and lived for a long time. He had many sons. His descendants are Kouls of Kashmir settled in and outside the valley. *Dattatriya Brahmans* are found in Maharashtra and Deccan also. They are also his descendants. They are generally called *Marhatta* Brahmins but the word Dattatriya is written as a prefix to their names."[38]

6

6 Gotras in Vedas

Reference to the word Gotra in the Vedic literature is very infrequent. *Rigveda* refers to it only at a few places and among them it has been referred to as a mountain and a cloud, at four places. *Gotra* has mostly been used in prayers to Indra. There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the real connotation of the word '*gotra*' as used in the Vedas. Some consider it as a 'cowshed' while others connect it with a group.[39] "The use of word *Gotra*

यो गोत्राभिद् वज्रभृट् हरिष्ठा

स इन्द्रचित्रां अभितृध्दिवाजान्

in the Vedas has not been made in its current connotation. It often stood for a cowshed or group".[40] The earliest reference to its usage in the modern sense is found in *Chhandogyaupanisada*, where an *Acharya* (teacher) asks the name of gotra of *Satyakama*[41]. Institution of *gotras* had been fully established by the time of Buddha, because Buddhist and Jaina literature makes frequent references to it.

6.1 Sociological Meaning

Ancient battles were not fought to establish a power balance between different nations, but were on the other hand fought for seizure of good pastures and grazing grounds. Lifting away of cattle was also a common phenomenon. Naturally the 'cowsheds' were guarded with great care and these 'cowsheds' took the form of forts. Inmates of a certain cowshed were later on called the members of that particular '*gotra*' (cowshed). One who possessed more number of cattles assumed the leadership of the gotra. *Visvamitra*, *Vasistha* etc., were in fact the big cowherds, who later on became the founders of different *gotras*. Some outsiders were also allowed to graze their cattle in these pastures and with the passing of time they were also known by the name of the gotra under which they had taken shelter. This

did not mean that they were one of the descendants of *Visvamitra* or *Vasistha*, but having lived very close to them they developed a sense of kinship towards that *gotra*.

"In ancient times Indian family, even when—in consequence of its numerical increase—its property had been greatly subdivided, would still continue to use and occupy jointly the land reserved for grazing cattle, and we may, therefore, conclude it is said, that the *Brahmanical Gotra* was in its origin—Simply a community of this kind i.e. a family whose members enjoyed joint rights in a particular pasturage"[42]. Ganjoo disagreeing with this hypothesis says that it does not account for most characteristic features of the gotra, which in fact, can be explained only by comparison with the *Gots* of the aboriginal tribes in India.

7 Intermarriages

Marriage between the members of same *gotra* has been disallowed by most of the Hindu Law-givers. Aryans made it obligatory to marry within one's own caste but not the gotra. Marriages within the same *gotra* were not prohibited in India alone but were looked down upon in other parts of the world too. Wherever the gotra system was not in vogue, the *tottem* of the tribe was brought into use to separate one group from the other. Origin of this practice of prohibiting marriage within the same gotra is shrouded in mystery. Diverse views have been forwarded by many scholars as the probable reasons. Some scholars believe that the number of girls was less than the number of boys in ancient times. This led to forbidding of intermarriage within same *gotra*[43]. Others hold that this practice came into vogue to stop the free sex within a tribe[44], but many believe the absence of mutual sexual attraction among the members of the same clan to be a probable reason[45]. Etkinson believes that the chief of a tribe, in ancient world, used to reserve every young girl of the tribe for his own use, compelling, thus, the young-

men of the tribe to find their brides outside the tribe.
This became a practice in the long run[46]. The more
palusible reasons have been forwarded by Dr. Pande
who says that the youngmen of a tribe would go to
distant lands in search of pastures and other means
of livelihood, which brought them into direct contact
with girls of other tribes.   Thus giving birth to a system
of inter-gotra marriage, which won the public approval
in the long run.[47]   Manu recommends to a twice-born
boy only such a girl who is not related by blood on her
mother's side, and does not belong to the same *gotra*
on his father's. *Apastamba* forbades a father to give
his daughter to a man of the same gotra as himself,
while *Gautama* and *Vasistha* permit marriage only
between those who have not the same *Pravara*. The
principle of 'same gotra' is very seldom observed in
the marriages of Kashmiri Pandits nowadays. How-
ever, the principle of *Sapindi* is still respected by all.
Practically the prohibition of marriage between the
members of same gotra is an anachronism. Numeri-
cally the Pandit community being very small, the for-
biding of 'Sagotra' marriages will create many social
problems than solve any of them.

8 Brahmanism in Ancient Kashmir

Pandits of Kashmir, popularly known as '*Bhatta*'
all belong to Brahmana '*Varana*'. *Bhatta* is the Prakrit
form of the Sanskrit *Bhariri* which means 'scholar',
'doctor' or the same as Pandit. Caste system of ancient
Kashmir included in itself besides four *Varnas* many
castes and sects such as *Chandala, Bomba, Damara,
Nishada, Kirata, Kayastha* and *Tantrin*, etc. That the
casteism in Kashmir was much more flexible than in
other parts of India is proved beyond doubt by *Kalhana's
Raj Tarangini*. Brahmans were the uppermost caste
of the valley. The origin of Brahmanism in Kashmir
is not very clear, but there is ample evidence to show
that a large majority of them consisted of the immi-
grants from the plains of India. "*Abhinavagupta* and

Bilhana's ancestors were *Madhyadesi* Brahmanas whereas the ancestors of *Abhinanda* ... hailed from Gawda. .. The earliest inscriptional reference of the Brahmanas occur in the edict of Asoka, where they have been mentioned as one of the most important classes among the population of the Maurya empire. Since the valley of Kashmir was included within Ashokas empire, it is not quite unlikely that the Brahmana's from other parts of India had come to live in Kashmir by the time of Ashoka. The *Raj Tarangini* refers to Brahmanas who had come to Kashmir from *Aryadesa.* The descendants of these immigrants seem to have composed the bulk of Brahmana population of Kashmir[48-49].

8.1 Buhur

Present Hindu population of Kashmir comprises of, besides Pandits, one or two minority groups viz., *Buhur* and *Purbi*. The origin of *Buhr's* and *Purbi's* is not certain. Many contradictory theories have been advanced. Lawrence describes Buhrs to be of *Khatri* origin, while many Pandits maintain that they are the descendants of those Pandits who lost their caste during the Muslim rule. Many others believe them to be the traders of Punjab who came to settle down in Kashmir along with other Kashmiris during the benevolent rule of Zainulabdin. Census report of 1891 states that their customs and habits prove them the sons of soil of Kashmir. Buhr's consider themselves to be the true specimen of Kashmiri Pandits belonging to *Malmasi* division. They declare their gotras as following: *Bharadwaj, Vasistha, Kapil, Shandli* etc. Mr. Fauq while quoting Alberoni and Secretary Buhra Sudhar Sabha, says that a group of Kashmiri Pandits, used to go to the plains of India for trade, during the Hindu rule. Naturally they would interdine with the non-Kashmiri Hindus. This religious unorthodoxy was resented to by the Pandits and a complaint was lodged with the King. The King is said to have de-

clared these traders a separate community by the name of 'Bakshar', which in the long-run took the form of Buhur. Mr. T. N. Madan holds the view that their "Khatri origin is more probable as the Bohra are found only in Urban areas and their traditional occupation is trade and shopkeeping. In fact the word Buhur is often used in Kashmir in the sense of a grocer"[50]. Pandit Anand Koul calls them by the name of Lejbhatta. He says, "during the Mohammadan rule some Brahmins were given option to either submit to the sword or take food prepared by a Musalman. They naturally quivered at the prospect of death and unwillingly accepted the later alternative, but in their anguish to reduce the pollution to its minimum, made the Musalman cook boil rice in a new lej or earthen pot and when ready they took the lej with their own hands and reluctantly ate it. They afterwards expaciated for the forcible pollution by performing Prayaschitta but still the Biradari, who were punctilious as ever, ostracised them"[51]. Their descendants are called Lej Bhattas because their ancestors having taken food cooked by a Mohammadan in a lej. Bohars on the other hand claim that their parents had to feign themselves as Muslims under compelling circumstances and these fake Muslims gave refuge to the traditional eleven families of Pandits, who later on belonged to Malmasi division. These fake Muslims came back to their original religion as soon as congenial political atmosphere was restored, but look at the irony of the fate, the saviours of a community were declared outcastes by the short-seighted and fanatic members of the same community.

However, the Buhurs are being gradually assimilated into Pandit culture. Inter-dining has become a common feature but the inter-marriages are still an exception rather than the rule.

8.2 Purbi

Another minority group among Hindus of Kashmir is known as Purbi. They have been described as a

Sambo Caste, having come into existence either by *Anuloma* or *Pratiloma* form of marriage. Pandit Anand Koul calls them an illegitimate offspring of a Brahmana and a Khatri couple. It is too harsh to call them illegitimate. The *Pratiloma* and *Anuloma* form of marriages are well recognised by ancient law-givers. Their offspring can by no means be illegitimate. Prof. Madan, however is of the view, which seems to be more correct, that they are descendants of those immigrant Brahmanas who came to Kashmir from *Chamba* valley in the East Punjab several hundred years ago. They used to prefix the word 'Pandit' to their names, as would be done by *Bhattas* themselves.

8.3   Gor and Kar Kun

With the ascendance of Zain-Ul-ab-din to the throne of Kashmir, the tide of communalism and fanaticism subsided, opening a new era of peace and progress. Hindus were freed from the shackles of *Jazia* and other disabilities were removed. Pandits, thus, started to reorganise and rehabilitate themselves. "By now the Persian had become the official language. The desire to share office with others could not be fulfilled without a study of Persian. The Brahmans took to the study of Persian and in a brief span of a few years they acquired a mastery over this language. But the Sanskrit learning and their religious ceremonies were not forgotten because this was the only distinctive feature to keep them alive as a separate group. . .The caste was divided further into two sub-castes, the *Karkuns* and the *Basha Bhattas* (*Gor*), the former included amongst its fold those who studied Persian and entered Government service and the latter those who studied Basha i.e., Sanskrit and took charge of the religious affairs of the community. But how was the division of labour to be made? It was decided that a daughter's son of a person should be made a *Basha Bhatta* to administer to the religious needs of his maternal grandfather's family. The arrangement was simple enough as it began involving no loss of status to the

Basha Bhatta, but in course of time this arrangement became responsible for the creation of two distinct classes with a distinctive culture and mode of life and habits with the result though there is no legal or religious bar, yet the two classes seldom inter-marry these days ...The rise and fall of the *Karkun* made a corresponding increase or decrease in *Basha Bhatta's* economic position...Socially, because of their economic dependence upon them (*Karkuns*), they (*Gor*) in course of time came to be looked down upon by the *Karkuns*."[52]

Karkun Pandits being economically well off have become arrogant and status conscious. Though outward reverence is shown to a *Gor*, yet he is considered inauspicious and greedy. After Independence, an increasing number of *Gors* have been opting for Government and other secular jobs. English education instead of Sanskrit education has caught their fancy. This has decreased the number of professional *Gors* alarmingly. That time may not be far away when a *Karkun* Pandit will have either to learn the religious scriptures himself, or will have to fare goodbye to all the *Karma Kanda* for ever.

8.4 Pandits

Some *Karkuns*, during Sikh rule, are said to have rededicated themselves to the study of Sanskrit and religion, without taking up the priestly duties. They were called Pandits. Those who were well-versed in astrology and drew up calendars and almanacs were known as *Jyotshi*. Presiding priest of Shiva Worship were called *Gurrins* and receivers of alms and offerings at the funeral of a *Karkun* were called as *Panyechh*. They were untouchables both for a *Karkun* and a *Gor* and were found to be in the city of Srinagar alone.

8.5 Banamasi and Malamasi

The oppressive Muslim rule failed to teach any worthwhile lesson to Kashmiri Pandits. As soon as the normalcy was restored and the self-exiled Pandits

began to re-habilitate themselves in the valley, they (Pandits) divided themselves again into two groups viz., *Malamasi* and *Banamasi*. Socially this division was inconsequential, still it was adopted to indicate the immigrants and those who did not leave the valley. The *Malamasi* Pandits follow the lunar calendar and the *Banamasis* observe the solar months. This has given birth to the absurd practice of observing two *Shiv Ratris*, two *Janmashtamis* etc., a phenomenon unknown to rest of India.

8.6 Surnames

The use of surnames in ancient Kashmir is negligible, Present Kashmiri surnames have more or less evolved during the Muslim and Sikh rule. It is stated that almost all the Kashmiri Pandits were Koul's and they were later on subdivided according to different nicknames and with the passage of time, these nicknames became permanent surnames. There seems to be some truth in this statement primarily because all the Kashmiri Pandits are *Shaivites* and *Mahakoul* is one of the names of Lord Shiva, and secondly because the number of nicknames even now attached with the surname *Koul* is largest of all. Moreover, in recent years the use of nicknames is being progressively discarded and the surname Koul is being adopted more than any other surname by almost all such people.

A detailed discussion of nicknames has, therefore, been made in the next Chapter to facilitate the correct appreciation of surnames of Kashmir.

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CHAPTER D

NICKNAMES

1 Lovers

A nickname, says Hazlitt, is the hardest stone that the devil can throw at a man, yet the Kashmiris have shown the unparalleled endurance to bear this hardest stone. Pleased with their 'devotion' he (Mr. Devil) seems to have gifted this stone to them (Kashmiris) for ever. Love of nicknames is mixed in the blood of Kashmiris, nay, they have nurtured this art with their blood, for generations together. They give it without asking for and make full use of ordinary events, actions, habits and even physical feature of persons to coin new and newer nicknames. *Raja Tarangini* is full of references of nicknames. Shalok 161 of Sixth Taranga uses the word *Kankanavarsa*, which is a nickname given to a person.[1] *Yudhish-thira*, a king of Kashmir, was on account of his small eyes nicknamed as the 'blind Yudhishthir'[2]. At one place, an aspirant to the throne was nicknamed as lame. The verse reads, "what is his fitness for the throne, who keeps awake during the nights being addicted to sexual pleasures and sleeping by day, is marred by his inability to get up and has therefore obtained the nickname of 'the Lame' ".[3] A certain king was nicknamed for having fallen in love with a lady. "As his mind became absorbed in *Didda*, the daughter's daughter of *Sahi*, the king came to be known by the humiliating epithet of *Diddaksama*."[4] A merchant is said to have carried in the lap a black cat (pet). He bore the designation of a cat merchant which relegated his proper name to oblivion.[5] Kalhan further reports that the furious tribe of *Damras* once nicknamed their master as snow king. For they believed that he can occupy the throne only after snow melts[6].

2 Humour

Kashmiris never lose their sense of humour. Even adversity has not killed their instinct of humour. It

has on the other hand, sharpened it to boost their morale and love of boisterous life. Hamidullah, a resident of remote meadow village of Nobog Nai, has not only exposed the ruthless Sikh bureaucracy of Kashmir in his *Bebujnamah*, but has proved himself a caricaturist *par excellence* as well as a non-conformist as for as Sikh administrative system was concerned. This work contains allegorical names and characters. "It is steeped in symbolism depicting the glaring traits of bureaucracy under Sikh rulers from the *Patwari* upto the *Nazim* or Governor. According to the author, the whole lot of them was responsible for all sorts of the sufferings of the peasantry, especially their aim being simply to grease their own palms and to sustain Sikh power by force. The significance of the names he has coined for prominent members of the bureaucracy in the Revenue Department, such as, '*Kazibrathar*' for Qanungo; '*Adawat Koul*' for Patwari; '*Fasad Bhat*' for Harkara, '*Rishwat Baba*', for Qazi, can better be guessed than described. Similarly, to describe the state of general administration, he introduces characters like '*Gurez Singh*' for Mir Shamshere; '*Adbar Singh*', for Mir. Bakshi; '*Shahmat Singh*' for Chief Police Officer, '*Mafajat Qulli*' for Chief Cavalry Officer, '*Rahzan Bandey*', for Chamberlian, '*Khalafat Razdan*', for Munsif; '*Tawan Koul*', for Amil, '*Nuqsan Thaplu*', for mutasaddi, '*Dewali Dass*', for chief storekeeper of grains; and '*Chughli Beg*', for news reporter. They are glaring illustrations. The selection of these names as their meanings show, represents the basic characteristics of the holders of the public office'". While talking about allegories, we must not forget to mention that Master Caricaturist of ancient Kashmir, *Kshemendra*, who has in a lyrical language exposed a Kayastha, a prostitute, a Brahmana and many others. His '*Narmala* and ' *desopdesa* ' are available in a printed form.

3 Aversion

It may not be right to say that Kashmiris have never shown an aversion to the nicknames. Pandit Anand.

Koul has quoted a classical example of resistance shown against a nickname by a poor Pandit whose name was '*Vasadev*'. He had a mulberry tree in his courtyard, and was, therefore, called *Vasadev Tul.* Tul being the Kashmiri name of mulberry. In order to get rid of this nickname he cut down the mulberry tree. But a *Mond* (trunk) remained and he was called, '*Vasadev Mond*'. Irritated Pandit immediately removed the trunk and a *Khud* (depression) was caused and henceforth he was known as 'Vasadev Khud'. Continuing his battle against nickname givers he got the depression filled up and the ground became a *Teng* (a little elevated). Thus he was re-nicknamed as '*Vasadev Teng*'. He had, however, to give in before the limitless arrows in the quiver of nickname givers and accepted gracefully his latest nickname, which has become a family name of his progeny.

4 Permanent

Kashmiri's never forget a nickname once coined for a particular person, even if he makes all the amends in his behaviour, which had served as the source of his nickname. A certain gentleman by name of *Karim* was once found walking bare-footed in the street. He was instantly called '*Karim Nanvor*' (i.e., Karima the bare-footed). He is reported to have later on put on very attractive and fashionable shoes. But people will only whisper "Look! Look! how beautiful shoes have '*Karim Nanvoroo*' put on!". Another incident commonly related is that of an unfortunate family which gave a dinner party on some occasion of happiness. But the cook employed for preparing the dishes is reported to have spoiled all the dishes and a strange smell (Fakh) was found coming out of all the preparations. Thus the family was nicknamed as *Fakh* (dirty smell). The head of the house, in order to get rid of the contemptuous appelation, gave a luncheon to the members of his Biradari. Every dish was prepared cautiously and under strict supervision of an expert

cook. The party was a grand success. But the plight of the head of the family can better be imagined than described, when he overheard two men conversating '*Yar*, these *Fakhs* have this time given really a grand party!'

The arrows of nicknames do not make a difference between a richman and poorman, a gentleman and a rogue. It hits its target with no consideration of caste, creed, or sex. A pious saint was nicknamed as *Zanana Zoi*, for the devout women surrounded him all the time. A Pandit by name of *Maheshwar Nath* was called *Maheshwar Mahlami*, because he used to distribute free of cost an ointment to the needy. The ointment in Kashmiri means *Malham*. Another devout Pandit used to bathe and worship his *Saligram* everyday and would throw the flowers and water of *pooja* in the Jehlum river, early in the morning. He was nicknamed as *Madhav Nirmali*.

5 Strange Sources

Strange are the sources of nicknames and stranger are the consequences of certain nicknames. A London-based Pakistani teacher, Mohamed Haseen, was nick-named '*Mr. Vortical*' at a junior school in which he was teaching because of the way some children in his school pronounced 'Vertical'. His complaint of a racial discrimination was rejected by an Industrial Tribunal, when he was banned from being employed in State Schools because of his accent. He alleged that he was called 'Paki-bastard' by a student and no action was taken against him. An Indian girl in England with a nice name like Suneeta has been nicknamed as Snot-eater (one who eats her own phlegm)[8]. Khushwant Singh recalling his childhood experiences with the nick-names writes that "for some reason I was nicknamed *Shali* which I did not mind too much. But when it came be rhymed; Shali Shooli Bagh Ki Mooli (radish in the garden) I minded it very much. For some reason Shali died out. I was re-nicknamed Khusrau

which I did not mind too much. But when Khusrau had its tail docked and I was labelled *Khusra* (eunuch) I minded it very much"[9].

6 Ancient

Nicknames in one form or the other existed in ancient *India*. "A boy was called *Balaki* because he was brought up in the company of girls. *Gargiya*, his son would be referred to by his own name along with the epithet associated with his father, thus, *Gargiya, Balaki* i.e., *Gargiya* the son of *Balaki*. Sometimes the personal name was followed by the name of country or locality from which a man or his ancestor came, e.g., *Bhima Vidharbha* or Bhima belonging to Vidarbha. Names could also be taken from one's locality of birth, e.g., *Vyasa*, compiler of the *Mahabharata*, was born on an island (*dvipa*) and was surnamed *Dvaipayana*. Also common was the use of the '*Viruda*' or (praise) name, often given to kings and heroes. It was not unknown in Vedic days, as can be seen by the eulogistic titles bestowed on certain kings, e.g., *Puranjaya*, 'City conqueror'. *Vikrama* and *Parakrama*, signifying one boldly striding or advancing were among the royal titles used in medieval times.[10]

7 Universal Practice

Nicknames are a universal phenomenon. Some names derived from nicknames are, white, brown, longfellow, drinkale, drinkwater, makepeace, gathergood, scattergood, gotobed (used in England). Names like Angell, Pope, King, Knight were attached to those who had acted such parts in medieval pagents.[11] Imagine the agony of an obese child being called *Bessie* or *Billy Bunter*, *Fatso* or *Motu*! or of a thin child being called *skinny*! A long nosed one being a *Concorde*! A thick lipped being a *Lipso*.[12]

8 Kram Names

Nicknames these days survive in the form of Kram names. Another name given to Kram is *Zat* and it is

in no case akin to the *Jati* as used in the Hindi-speaking areas of India. *Kram*, says Madan, is derived from a Sanskrit word and is used as a synonym for *Zat*. "It means a ranked category and suggests that internal ranking was, as it still is, characteristic of Brahmans of Kashmir. Whether the basis of ranking earlier was politico-economic as it is now, or involved other considerations also, is a subject on which I lack any data at present. . ."[13]

8.1 Origin

It is really an interesting job to trace the origin of Kashmiri *Krams* (nicknames). The sources of these surnames are often funny incidents or deliberate attempts to malign a person. Kashmiri *Krams* are not the gotra names but pure specimen of nicknames. Late M. D. Fauq has, in his Aqwami Mardam Kashmir, made a scholarly analysis of these nicknames. We have tried to reclassify these nicknames under the following heads: (*i*) Profession/occupation, (*ii*) Locality (*iii*) Abnormal/extra-ordinary physique or temperament, (*iv*) Peculiar circumstances/incident, and (*v*) Religious/official/academic epithet.

8.2 Anglicisation

Classification and finding out of the origin of Kashmiri Krams has been rendered difficult by a craze for anglicising these surnames. Many abnoxious and absurd-looking Krams have been Westernised or Indianised beyond recognition. Thus *Khar* has become *Kher*, *Wali* became *Vali*, *Thalal* became *Atal*, *Sar* became *Sir*, *Gor* became *Gaur* and so on. There may be some justification in reshaping or modifying an awkward-looking surname. But to change the quite pretty and beautiful surnames like Kaul and Razdan is really a deplorable attempt. For example, Kaul is often anglicised as Kaula and Razdan as Rosedon. Such deliberate modifications sometimes give rise to very absurd situations. Kaul is derived from *Maha*

7

Kaul, which is a name of Lord Shiva. *Kaul*, therefore, means a devotee of Shiva, but *Kaula* on the other hand stands for a big fool. See the difference yourself. This madening craze for anglicising ones names made Kashyapa Bandhu, a noted social reformer and political leader, to remark sarcastically.

राज़दान रोज़डन बन गया,
कौल कौला होगया ।
भट्ट बिचारा क्या करेगा
भट्ट तो भट्ट ही रहगया ॥

91 Continuous Process

The evolution of nicknames and permutation and combination of different surnames is a continuous process. Lawrence records that new and newer Krams are springing up "in Zainagiri I found the large number of families rejoicing in the *Kram (Chang)*. Their ancestor was a man who played on the Jews' harp (*chang*). Azad the Pathan tyrant, sliced off the ears of an old and faithful servant because he was slow, and banished him to Lolab. His descendants are numerous, and their *Kram* is *Kanchattu*, the 'crop-eared'. In *Lolab* a young *Kram* is arising known as *Dogra*. For two generations they have been in the service of Dogra rulers of the country".[14]

Moreover, to obliterate all traces of lowly origin men have assumed surnames or nicknames borrowed from familiar animals, insects, trades, occupations and places, e.g. *Gagroo* (rat); *Dand* (bullock); *Bror* (cat); *Pisu* (flea) etc.

Lawrence further records that one of the leading merchants of Srinagar is known by the name of Jackal. Another man of considerable influence, has adopted the unpleasant word '*Latrine*' as his family appellation ...It would serve no useful purpose to give a list of nicknames. Many are extremely coarse, and neither the giver nor the recipient of some of them is to be congratulated either for generosity or wit, and it is

strange that men should have quietly allowed such names to be handed down in their families from generation to generation.

92 Jewish Influence

Bernier and Younghusband imagine without much authority, that Kashmiris are the lost tribes of Israel. Advocates of this theory agree with the *Quadiani* sect of Muslims that the 'Lord Christ' is buried in Srinagar. Younghusband records that the 'people are in appearance of such a decided Jewish caste that it arouses curiosity that such a theory should exist; and certainly, these are real Biblical types to be seen everywhere in Kashmir, and especially in upland villages. Here the Israelitish shepherds tending their flocks and flocks may any day be seen.'[15]

Some local authors have also agreed with the theory and declare Hebrew language as the source of Kashmiri language. They also argue that the surnames of Kashmiris, as for instance *Magre, Dand, Pare,* etc., are borrowed from the Jewish surnames. More Kashmiri surnames like *Raina, Kichloo, Haptu, Varikoo, Nehru,* etc., are said to be akin to the surnames of Jewish people. Moreover, the word '*Bal*' and '*Hom*' at the end of certain places names is considered similar to the Jewish place names. Examples of such place names are *Gandarbal, Manasbal, Gagribal, Dudarhom, Burzahom, Dropahom, Balahom,* etc.[16]

92.1 Joo

Bernier established the Jewish identity in Kashmiris by the frequent use of affix '*Joo*' with their names. This title is frequently given by way of respect or an endearment. To quote Lawrence, 'when a man has won the title "*JU*", he ceases to use his real *Kram* name. Thus Habib *Ju*, the well-known silver smith, is probably Habib *Gadh.* Sul Ju the cloth merchant, is really Sultan *Guzarban.* In the villages, too, the affix *Ju*

displaces the Kram name. Thus Kadir *Ganai* of *Bhawan* is called Kadir Ju, and Ahad Dar of *Nanil* is always addressed as Ahad Ju.'[17]

The controversy over the origin of the affix '*Joo*' has not been settled so far. Commenting upon the use of '*Aryaraja*' by Kalhana in Shaloka 110 and Taranga II of Rajatarangini, R. S. Pandit says that Aryaraja means chief of the Aryas. 'The term *Arya* is used to differentiate from the *Anarya*, the non-Aryans, or barbarians. Arya also means gentlemen. In early times, the pater-families was addressed as *Arya* and the wife in the Indian household addressed her husband as *Arya-Putra* (son of the *Arya*). It is interesting to find the survival of this term *Arya* through the *Prakrata Ajja* in the modern "*Ji*" used as a suffix for respect and as a term of address'.[18] The affix '*Joo*' seems, therefore, to be a Kashmiri version of the Hindi honorific 'Ji' (which literally means life or soul).

93 Profession/Occupation

1. *Aram*—Some of their ancestor had been employed to collect the taxes from the vegetable growers and in the due course of time the word *Aram* became their nickname. Rajatarangini has used the word *Aramak* for them.

2. *Kral*—There are many localities in Kashmir known by the word *Kral* viz., *Kralpur, Kralgund* in Kupwara district. In the city of Srinagar we have two Mohallas known as *Kral Khud* and *Kralyar*. The Pandits employed for collecting taxes from '*Krals*' (potters) were nick named as *Kral*.

3. *Gooru*—A milk man and a cowherd is called *Goor* in Kashmiri. Pandits did neither of these jobs. However, certain Pandits were employed as *Patwaris* to keep the accounts of their cattle heads and collect the Government taxes from them. In the course of time their original family names became obscure and were known as *Gooru*.

4. *Bakaya*—An officer of the rank of a Tehsildar was appointed in the time of Sikhs and Pathans to realise the outstanding taxes from the people. His descendants were nicknamed as *Bakaya*.

5. *Manwati*—Manwati used to be a standard weight in Kashmir. It was equal to two and a half *seers*. Government used to levy a tax of one Manwati of rice on the tenants and an official employed to collect this tax was known to people by the name of *Manwat*. His descendants also lost their original family name and the nickname *Manwati* became an irremovable attachment to their names.

6. *Guzarwan*—A Guzarwan was an Official-in-charge of an excise check-post on the outskirts of a town. Every article coming to the town from outside was to be checked and tax at a previously fixed rate to be realised. A Guzarwan was also to check the smuggling and un-authorised entry of articles to the town. An official employed, thus to perform this duty became famous by the name of *Guzarwan*. His children, whatever their profession might have been, were also known by this name.

7. *Bakshi*—It is a common Punjabi surname. A Pandit employed as an Assistant to a Punjabi officer, having Bakshi his surname, was also known as Bakshi. Mr. Fauq says a Pandit employed as a clerk of the Army was known as Bakshi or Mir Bakshi.

8. *Jawansher*—Jawansher was a famous Afghan Governor of Kashmir. He had a Pandit as his *Peshkar* (Assistant) who became famous by the name of his master. *Jawansher* is the nickname of many families bearing different surnames.

9. *Munshi*—It is a common surname among many linguistic groups of India. K. M. Munshi was a Gujrati and a famous Indologist. Munshis exist in almost all the Hindi-speaking areas of India. Munshi means a clerk. Mr. Fauq says that a certain Pandit of Tikoo

family was employed as a *Munshi* during the rule of Sikhs or Pathans. He was the most intelligent and efficient Munshi Kashmir had ever seen. Therefore, he became famous by his professional name and his children were also known by this name.

10. *Misri*—A Pandit employed in service of a trader who had come from the Egypt (*Misr*) was known by the nickname Misri. One more probability is that some Pandit had gone to Egypt and when he came back he was known by the name of the country he had visited. Some describe it to be the nickname of those Pandits whose ancestor was employed by a trader dealing in *Michari Kandi.*

11. *Turki*—A Pandit was employed as a clerk by a Turk trader and was nicknamed as Turki. Fauq mentions Pandit Tab Ram Turki to have been a famous poet who wrote 'Jangnama of Sikhs.' A 'Turki' friend has been re-nicknamed as 'Istambol'. Perhaps, because, Istambole is the capital of Turkey.

12. *Gandnoo*—'Gandan dasta' is kind of toy and a decoration piece and '*Posha Gandun*' is the flower vase. A pandit manufacturing or selling these articles was nicknamed as *Gandnoo*.

13. *Kuli*—'Tarkuli Khan' and 'Noor Kulikhan' were two Afghan chiefs during the rule of 'Durani' kings. Pandits employed by them as Government servants were known as *Kuli.*

14. *Wazir*—The Pandits employed in the service of Wazirs of Kashmir during Pathan and Mughal rule became gradually famous by the name of Wazir.

15. *Ambardar*—Ambar means a huge store. Land revenue was being realised in kind, instead of in cash, in the past. Naturally certain people were employed to look after these stores of levy rice. They were called *Ambardar* and their later generations also were identified by this name.

16. *Chakbast*—'Chak' in Kashmiri is the name given to a large piece of land. *Chakdari* was a common feature of Kashmir's agrarian system. It was abolished after the end of Dogra regime in 1948. Before the passing of Agrarian laws large pieces of land would be given to influential zamindars as the '*Chaks*' on a nominal rent. Therefore, the officers entrusted with the job of keeping a regular account of these land holdings were known as '*Chakbast*.' They were also known as *Kanoongo*.

17. *Bhan*—It is an ancient Kashmiri nickname given, perhaps, to those who sold the utensils. Bhan is the name of the Sun also but this name does not justify itself to be a source of a nickname or a family name. There is a locality, known as, '*Bana Mohalla*', in Srinagar.

18. *Langar* or *Langroo*—Some of their ancestor must have been the manager of a Government kitchen. His descendants were, therefore, nicknamed Langar or Langroo.

19. *Fotedar*—It is an Arabic and Persian word and was used as a nickname for those Pandits who were entrusted with the duty of looking after the royal treasury, during the rule of Mughal kings. Sometimes it is re-nicknamed as *Khote-dar*. Khota in Punjabi means a donkey. It was used by Mr. Raj Narayan, at the time of his defeating Mrs. Indra Gandhi at Rai Bareilli in 1977 general elections, for one Mr. Fotedar the chief polling agent of Mrs Gandhi, perhaps, out of ignorance or deliberate sarcasism.

20. *Wattal*—It is a very derogatory term and is used for a low caste tribe. It is also used for a person who indulges into very mean and lowly acts. It is presumed that some Pandit must have been appointed as an officer of *Wattals*, who himself was later on known by this very name. Fauq says that during Hindu rule many people swept the premises of temples, without

any compensation, out of devotion to the presiding
deity of the temple. They and their descendants were
later nicknamed as *Wattal*. One more theory being
forwarded is that the Pandits whose family name is
Wattal are the descendants of some famous saint by the
name of *Wattal Nath*.

21. *Hakim*—It is the family name of such families
whose ancestors have been hereditary *Hakims*.

22. *Waza*—It literally means a cook. Mr. Fauq
is of the view that it was a nickname given to the pro-
fessional cooks. It may be true of the Muslim *Wazas*,
of whom there is a separate Mohalla by the name of
Wazapora in Srinagar. Among Hindus of Kashmir
the profession of a *Waza* is by no means an honourable
one. It is adopted only under compelling circumstances,
and *Waza* or a *Kandroo* (baker) is never addressed by
the name of his occupation. But the families known
by the name of *Waza* never feel ashamed of this suffix
to their name. It is argued that some of their ancestor
was highly fond of good dishes and had gained suffi-
cient knowledge of preparing palatable dishes for him-
self. He is said to have won the nickname of *Waza*
which continued its company with his descendants,
whether or not they had any knowledge of cookery.

23. *Katwa*—Mr. Fauq describes it to be a branch
of professional cooks, who earned this nick name for
being in habit of using small *Patilis* (utensils) for
cooking.

24. *Sultan*—Their actual family name is 'Koul'.
Some of their ancestor was employed as a clerk with
the Sultans of Kashmir and became famous by the
name of his employers.

25. *Nala*—Mr. Fauq says that there is no family
of this name in Srinagar. An ancestor of this family
must have been a guard of some *Nala* (Rivulet). Their
gotra is *Dattatriya*.

26. *Nehru*—It is a nickname which originated from a canal. Probably any ancestor of this family was *Mir Munshi* of canals (i.e., a supervisor or an overseer of canals). They originally belong to *Koul* family and are commonly nicknamed as *Naroo*. A *Naroo* in Kashmiri means a pipe. It is possible that any of their ancestor was as thin as a pipe and was, therefore, called *Naroo*, which in due course of time became Nehru. Pandit Jawahar Lal *Nehru* in his autobiography sees the genesis of the word Nehru under a different situation. He says, 'we were Kashmiris. Over two hundred years ago, early in the eighteenth century, our ancestor came down from that mountain valley to seek fame and fortune in the rich plains below. Raj Koul was the name of that ancestor of ours and he had gained eminence as a Sanskrit and Persian scholar in Kashmir. He attracted the notice of Emperor Farrukhsair during the latter's visit to Kashmir, and, probably at the Emperor's insistance, the family migrated to Delhi about the year 1716. A Jagir with a house situated on the banks of a canal had been granted to Raj Koul and from the fact of this residence 'Nehru' (from *Nahar*, a canal) came to be attached to his name; this changed to Kaul Nehru; and in later years, Kaul dropped out, and we became simply Nehrus.' The above statement of Pandit Nehru has been disputed by many on the grounds of historical facts as well as usage of language. Firstly, Farukhsair is never reported to have visited Kashmir. Aurangzeb was the last Mughal King to visit Kashmir. Secondly, Delhi was the home of Urdu language and literature. Naturally the adjectival form of Nahar (canal) would be *Nahree* and not Nehru. We see many people by the name of Lucknowee, Jullandaree, Ahmadabadi etc., but none with the name of Lucknowoo, Jullandaroo or Ahmadabadoo etc. Kashmir, however, has a tradition of using 'oo' instead of 'ee' viz., *Kathjoo, Waloo, Chagtoo, Saproo, Wangoo, Ganjoo,* etc. Therefore, it is almost certain that the ancestor of Nehru's who had gone from Kashmir had taken the nickname 'Nehru', from the

valley itself, with him. Taking up of residence at a canal bank is only a coincidence.

Pandit Daya Krishan Kachru, states that on publication of the well-known explanation for the surname 'Nehru' in the opening chapter of the book (autobiography), he like a hasty youngman immediately wrote a letter to Jawahar Lal Nehru, bringing to his notice the fact that *Naroos*—now Nehrus—did not have the same explanation to offer for their surname. He requested Nehruji to reconcile the discrepancy. He received his instant reply pleading ignorance of the Kashmir story and adding that what he had written on the subject was from his father's account of it. A copy of his letter is reproduced below:

Pandit Dayakishan Kachru,   Anand Bhawan
Sheshiyar, Second Bridge,   *Allahabad*
Srinagar (Kashmir)   *July* 12, 1936

Dear Dayakishan Ji,

Thank you for your letter. I am interested to learn of the Nehrus in Kashmir. I do not know if there was any connection between them and us. But there is no doubt that we used to be called Kaul. *What I have written on the subject in my book is from my father's account of it.* Unfortunately our family papers were destroyed during the revolt of 1857.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd—) J. L. Nehru

(Those Golden Bonds—Jawahar Lal and Kashmir by D. K. Kachroo. Kashur Samachar Annual Number 1980—pages 16 and 19).

27. *Bazaz*—Some ancestor of the family must have been a cloth merchant.

28. *Taimani*—It is presumed some Pandit must have been under the service of Taimini Pathans of

Kabul and earned this nickname. Fauq believes it to be a word of Hindu or Buddhist origin and considers this family to be the followers of some *Rishi* or *Muni*. At the same time, it is suspected that some ancestor of this family might have been of black colour, and was called *Tamini* as the *Tamun* in Kashmiri means the carbon formed on the bottom of the utensils.

29. *Mattu*—It is derived from the Sanskrit word *Math*. Some of the ancestor of this family must have either been a founder or a manager of some Math.

30. *Darbari*—It means a courtier. Some ancestor of the family was a courtier of some Pathan or Sikh Governor's court.

31. *Bhandari*—Some ancestor might have been the in-charge of some Governmental store (*Bhandar*).

32. *Akhoon*—During the Muslim rule a teacher was called *Akhoon*. Some elder member of this family was teaching Persian and Arabic to the pupils and was known by the name of his profession rather than by his family name.

33. *Mirza*—Some ancestor was in the service of a Mirza family.

34. *Hashia*—They were professionals engaged in putting margin on papers.

35. *Nasti*—It is nickname of a family whose ancestors sold the snuff. (*Naswar*).

36. *Vani*—A petty shopkeeper.

37. *Hak*—Growers of Hakh.

38. *Kotha*—It means a granary in Kashmiri. An official-in-charge of the Government granaries was given this nickname.

39. *Kandhari*—Some ancestor of this family was an employee of the traders from Kandhar.

40. *Diwan*—An officer in the Sikh Court.

41. *Chagtu*—An employee of Chagutais.

42. *Hastwaloo*—An employee of the Royal Court in-charge of elephants.

43. *Durrani*—Ahmad Shah on becoming an independent ruler of Afghanistan styled himself as *Durr-i-Durran* (pearl of the age). His successors were known as Durrani. In Kashmir this nickname was given to those Pandits who were the employees of Durrani Pathans.

44. *Bamzai*—Employees of Bamzai Pathans.

45. *Jallali*—Clerks employed by Jallali Shias were known as Jallali.

46. *Chak*—Employees of Chak Kings.

47. *Zradchob*—Traders of turmeric (*Haldi*) or their employees.

48. *Khaibari*—Khaibaris were influential chiefs of Kashmir. Their pandit employees received this nickname.

49. *Zalpuri*—Employees of traders from Zablistan. It is often mispronounced out of Kashmir as *Jalpari*.

50. *Khazanchi*—Some ancestor must have been a Cashier.

51. *Khar*—It means an ass in Kashmiri. A Pandit employed to realise taxes from donkey drivers (*Markaban*).

52. *Araz Begi*—A person employed to read out petitions in the Sikh and Pathan Courts.

53. *Hazari*—A servant of Hazari Pathan's got this nickname.

54. *Lal*—Some ancestor of this family was serving with a Punjabi Lala.

55. *Karwani*—Some elder member must have been selling *Kara* (i.e., *Pea Nuts*).

56. *Nagari*—A Pandit employed as an officer of the royal heralds during Mugal rule got this appellation.

57. *Aoonth*—This nickname was used for a family whose some elder member was employed in Government service, and entrusted with the duty of collecting taxes from camel drivers.

58. *Kalapoosh*—It was a kind of lady's cap used by Pandit as well as Muslim woman to cover their skull over which traditional *Tarang* or *Kasab* (traditional headwear of women) would be used. A Pandit selling these *Kalpushas* or having at anytime used a Kalpush for himself, was nicknamed *Kalpush*.

59. *Dral*—A name given to those families whose ancestor was working as a broker. It's Hindi equivalent is *Dalal* and is used as a surname by many families in Hindi-speaking areas of the country.

60. *Nazir*—Fauq states it having been a nickname of a person and his descendants, who was manager of a Government Kitchen. Nazir is also used for a clerk in the court. Pandit Jia Lal Nazir was an efficient teacher and historian.

61. *Zaraboo*—Those Pandits are called *Zaraboo* whose some ancestor was in-charge of a Government mint.

62. *Ogra*—It means watery rice, just like a *Kheer*. Fauq states that a Pandit was entrusted with the duty of distributing cooked rice to the hungry during a famine. Once he found the quantity of rice was less and the number of hungry people more. He ordered to get prepared a *Wugra*, and distributed among the needy. Thus *Wugra* became a part of his name. It is now written as *Ogra*.

63. *Badam*—An almond merchant must have been nicknamed as such.

64. *Tufchi*—An ancestor of this family was employed either as an officer of gunners or was himself a

gunman during Muslim rule. Tufchi is a corrupted form of *Top* (a cannon).

65. *Cheru*—A few families of this name reside in Anantnag city. A common ancestor of these families is reported to have been trading into *Charkha* rods made of apricot wood. An apricot is a succulent orange pink fruit known as *Cher* in Kashmiri.

66. *Khachoo*—A *Khoch* in Kashmiri means a special kind of boat used for transporting the goods from one place to another. An ancestor of this family was employed to collect taxes from these special boatmen and was thus nicknamed as *Khachoo*.

67. *Mirakhur*—Some ancestor of this family was officer of the department entrusted with the duty of maintaining the Royal horses.

68. *Shora*—An ancestor of this family was either a Government officer in-charge of gunpowder makers, or was himself a trader of the explosive material. Shora in Kashmiri means gunpowder.

94 Religious/Official/Academic Epithet

1. *Sahib*—It is an honorific. Some elderly Pandit who had attained highest stage of spiritual perfection or was well-versed in the religious Scripture was out of reverence called as Sahib. There is a spring of sweet water known as Sahibi Spring near Chashma Shahi. Sahib Koul was a great saint from this family.

2. *Pir*—Pir Pandit Padshah, during the reign of Shah Jahan, has been a famous saint of Kashmir. His miracles and spiritual attainments brought many people from different walks of life, under his banner. His desciples were known as *Pir*.

3. *Sadhu*—Some of the elder member of this family were as faultless and self-realising person as a real Sadhu. So they were known by the name of Sadhu. Another explanation is that some ancestor of this family had proved himself as an honest person under very

conspiring and hostile circumstances. He won the public applause and was known as Saidh (the antonym of a thief).

4. *Sedhu*—Some ancestor of this family is reported to have been a *Sidha Pursha* (attained soul). Another version, of the events leading to this nomenclature, given is that head of this family was a simpleton and was, therefore, nicknamed as Sedhu. A few families of this name live in village Mattan of district Anantnag.

5. *Sher*—Fauq reports an elder of this family must have killed a lion and was named Sher for his extraordinary valour. This guess does not seem to be correct, as is natural, such a brave person would have been called *Sah* (Kashmiri word for lion) and not a sher. Most probably this name must have originated from the continued association of the head of this family with some *Sher Khan* or *Sher Singh*, etc.

6. *Shair*—There must have been a distinguished poet among Kashmiri Pandits, who was better known by the word *Shair* than his real family name. Naturally the epithet became a part of the names of his progeny.

7. *Zutshi*—It is a corrupt form of the word *Jyotshi*. Zutshis are reported to have been distinguished astrologers and Sanskrit scholars.

8. *Razdan*—The census report of 1819 states that Razdan is a corrupted form of ancient Sanskrit epithet *Rajanak*. Stein is of the view that 'the title Rajanak, meaning literaly "a king", used to be given for services rendered to the King. The title has survived in the form of *Razdan* as a family name of very free occurrence among the Brahmans of Kashmir. It was borne by *Rajanaka Ratanakara*, the author of the Haravijaya (9th Century), and by many Kashmirian authors of note enumerated in the Vamsaprasasti which *Anama Rajanaka* (17th Century) has appended to his commentary on the *Nisadhacarita*. As the designation of certain high officials (Muhammadans), the term Rajanaka

is often used by *Srivara* and in the fourth chron (also
in the shortened form *Rajana*).' R. S. Pandit states
that the title Rajanaka was continued under Muhamma-
dan rule and was conferred on Muslim officers.

9. *Tikoo*—It is said to have originated from the
'*Trika*'. The members of this family were special
devotees of the goddess '*Tripura*'. Fauq has given one
more explanation stating that an ancestor of this family
adopted a non-Brahman boy who was deemed to have
become a Brahman by a *Tika* (a sacred mark on the
forehead of a Brahman). He and his descendants were
later nicknamed as Tiku.

10. *Dhar*—It is stated to be a pure gotra name.
Dhar Bharadvaja is the name of their gotra. However,
many scholars are of the view that Dhars are the des-
cendants of Damras, the war lords and a troublesome
non-Brahmanic tribe of ancient Kashmir.

95 Locality

1. *Khan-Mushu*—A village towards north-east of
Srinagar is known as *Khanmoh*. Emigrants from this
place, became known as Khanmush, in Srinagar.

2. *Vichari*—There is a sacred spring, at the out-
skirts of Srinagar, near Soura. It is said Lord Shiva
had meditated for sometime here. This place is known
as Vicharnag. The Pandits coming from this place
to Srinagar were nicknamed *Vichari*.

3. *Ishbari*—Nickname of those Pandits who came
to settle down from Ishabari, a village near Nishat
garden.

4. *Kathjoo*—Pandit family residing at *Kathleshwar*
in *Tanki Pora* (a mohalla of Srinagar) was nicknamed
Kathjoo.

5. *Sopori*—Pandits of Srinagar, whose ancestors
migrated from Sopore, or the descendants of *Soya
Pandit* (founder of Sopore) were known as Sopori.

Kashmiri Pandits of this nickname in plains have changed the word Sopori into *Shivpori*.

6. *Thussoo*—Emigrants from a village *Thus* in Kulgam Tehsil, to the Srinagar city became known by the name of their native village.

7. *Zadoo*—It is said that a certain family residing near a marshy land was called Zadoo (as Zadoo in Kashmiri means a wet and marshy land). They are mispronounced outside Kashmir a as *Jadoo* (a groom).

8. *Zaboo*—This name is also derived from a marshy and wet land.

9. *Kakroo*—The name to a family who came from a small village *Kokargund*, near Achhabal. There are a few families of Kakroos in Achhabal also.

10. *Kar*—This name is used for the Pandits who came from a village known as *Karhama* in Handwara Tehsil. Swami Krishan Joo Kar was an illustrious saint, produced by this family.

11. *Pampori*—Pandits of Pampore, irrespective of their family names, are known by the name of their locality.

12. *Saproo*—Dr. Iqbal, who was the worthy descendant of a Pandit family whose surname was Saproo, wrote to Mr Fauq about the word *Saproo* as follows. He wrote that Mr. Dewan Tek Chand M.A., who was a Commissioner in Punjab, had a taste for linguistic research. He told Mr. Iqbal that the word Saproo had its genesis from the Ancient Iranian Kings 'Shapur'. *Saproos* are those Iranians who had settled down in Kashmir much before the advent of Islam and because of their sharp intellect were absorbed soon with Brahmans of Kashmir. Dr. Iqbal has further written that his father used to say that 'Saproos' are the descendants of those Kashmiri Brahman families who were first to learn Persian and other Islamic studies, during the Muslim rule. Saproo means a person who is first to

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learn a new thing. This name was given to them out. of contempt by other Brahmans. The latter analysis. is nearer in the approach of a common Kashmiri and the former assertion needs full investigation.

13. *Kanzroo*—They are the descendants of the Pandits of *Kunzar*, a village near Tangmarg.

14. *Momboi*—There is no family with this nickname at present. However Mr. Fauq was informed by one Mr. Tarachand Trisal that some contributors to a certain magazine used to write 'Mombai' with their name. It is presumed that some Kashmiri family had temporarily settled at Bombay for sometime and, its members used the epithet Mombay with their names, when they came back. According to another story, a Muslim named Mohammad (*Momma*) was so gentle that he would not react even to a harsh and abusive language. He became known as *Moma Bayoo*. It is thought that some Pandit must have been as gentle as Mombayoo and he was along with his descendants nicknamed as such. Yet one more thesis forwarded is that it was a nickname given to those Pandits who came down to Srinagar from *Bumai* village of Kulgam Tehsil.

15. *Purbi*—Genesis of this term has been discussed in Sec. C-82 in full. Mr. Fauq has quoted an interesting statement of Rai Bahadur Pandit Amar Nath Purbi (ex-Inspector General Customs, Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir), saying that his grandmother after adopting his father, (Pt. Dila Ram) who was serving on a good post with the Nawabs of Lucknow, migrated to Delhi. Delhi people began to call them *Purbi* as they had come from the eastern part of the country. Mr. Fauq further writes that there were a few families of Bhai Purbi in Srinagar, who according to census report of 1891 were the offspring of a widowed *Panditani* by a Purbi (coming from the eastern part of the country), whom she secretly re-married. Any person coming from U.P. is still called by the name of '*Bhaia*', just as every Kashmiri in plains of Punjab is called as a '*Hato*'.

16. *Madan*—Residents of a Mohalla of Srinagar. viz., *Madanyar*. Madan is a word used for a romantic man. Some of the ancestor might have been of this nature and earned the appellation *Madan*. Another story forwarded in this connection is that an ancestor of this family was an employee of 'Madan Talkies' owned by a Parsee of Bombay. He and his descendants were, therefore, nicknamed as Madan.

17. *Haksar*—Emigrants from a village named *Hakchar* in district Baramullah.

18. *Trisal*—A boy of Dhar family was adopted by Pt. Neko Pandit of *Trisal*. When he came back to settle down in Srinagar he and his descendants were called Trisal (name of a village in Pulwama district).

19. *Chhachabali*—Pandits who took up their residence, during Afghan rule, in the then suburban area of Srinagar viz., Chhatabal, were known as *Chhachabali*.

20. *Chakru*—Name given to the families having come from *Chokur* village.

21. *Krid*—Krid in Kashmiri means a thorny creeper. A few families in *Shangas Nawgam* bear this name. Their ancestors took up residence near a *Krid* and became known by its name.

22. *Nad*—A family residing near a ravine in the same village is known by the name of Nad. It means a ravine in Kashmiri.

23. *Baghati*—A family having a number of orchards or having taken up their residence in or near an orchard were nicknamed *Baghati*. Bhag is also a nickname of the same category.

23. (*a*) *Hangloo*—Pandits of Hangalgund near Kokar Nag.

24. *Mujoo*—It means a raddish in Kashmiri. Ancestors of this family are said to have come from *Mujja Gund*, a village in district Baramullah.

25. *Haloo*—Emigrants from the village *Hal* in Pulwama district. Haloo in Kashmiri means a Tidi (grasshopper) also.

26. *Parmoo*—The ancestors of this family must have come from the other side of Pirpanchal range, to settle down in Kashmir valley. Parmoo is a corrupt form of *Aparium* (i.e., one who lives or has come from the other side). It is, even now, used for any non-Kashmiri person, particularly for a Punjabi. As a matter of fact, Punjabi and *Parium* have become synanymous terms.

27. *Nagri*—It is different from *Nagari*. It is an epithet used for the Pandits who had some connection with Nagri Malapora a village in Handwara.

28. *Ganz*—It is a nickname given to a family which was residing at a place where some bad smell used to come from a stagnant pool of water.

29. *Danji*—One or two families in the village Mattan are having this family name. Danji in Kashmiri means a small ravine and in fact, these families are still residing in a small ravine on the bank of *Chaka* stream.

30. *Kilam*—Emigrants from the village Kilam of Kulgam Tehsil.

31. *Booni*—A family residing near a big Chinar tree were known by its name.

32. *Sum*—It means a small bridge connecting the two banks of a small rivulet, a pond or a lake. A family residing near such a mini bridge got the appellation 'sum'.

33. *Rafiz*—Shia Muslims, in Kashmir, are called by the name of Rafiz. Some Pandit family for its nearest association with Rafizs or having lived in a locality of Rafizs, got this nickname.

34. *Bali*—A family having lived near a mountain or having some connection with the *Bal's* (i.e., moun-

tains) was called *Bali*. It is in no way connected with the Sikh surname Bali.

35. *Kadal Buju*—A nickname of those Buju families which lived near a bridge. Buju nomenclature has been discussed elsewhere.

36. *Raina*—It is stated that the Pandits who originally belonged to Rainawari and later settled down in the main city were known as Raina. Mr. Fauq states that Rainawari was the capital of the famous King Rana Datta 436 A.D.-497 A.D. There was also a large garden of this king situated at the site of present Rainawari and *Vari* in Kashmiri means a garden. Thus Rainawari meant a garden belonging to the king Ranadatta.

Another view expressed is that it, like Razdan, is a corrupted form of the title Rajanaka.

96 Peculiar Circumstance/incident

1. *Waloo or Wali*—A fire chimney in Kashmiri is called *Wol*. One who got constructed a fire chimney in his house at first was immediately nicknamed as Wol, which in due course of time became, Waloo and Wali.

2. *Sas*—It means a thick *Dal* in Kashmiri. It is often cooked along with *wopal hakh* (a vegetable) and is, thus, known as *Saswopalhakh*. It is said that some one was irritated to have been served with this (for him unpalatable) dish at a dinner or lunch party. He was asked by some one what dishes were served at the party and instantly came the reply 'Sas' (using half the name to make his anguish more expressive). He and his descendants were later on called 'Sas' by every one.

3. *Kotru*—Some of the elder member of this family had kept a number of pigeons as his pets. He was forever nicknamed as *Kotur* (Pigeon).

4. *Wantu/Wanchu*—Wantu in Kashmiri is used for a hard walnut. It is impossible to get a full Kernel (*GIRI*) out of a hard walnut, even if it is broken into pieces. Some of the ancestor of this family must have

been a top class miser and was compared to a '*Wont doon*' (hard walnut). Thus was this nickname started to continue for generations.

5. *Mantoo*—It means one and a half *seer* in Kashmiri. It is said that some ancestor of this family underwent a bet to eat a *manut* (1½ seer) of rice at a time, which he won. This victory brought its reward in the form of a nickname.

6. *Wakhul*—It is a flat bottomed stone mortar used for shrinking and washing the woollen clothes. In the past the professional washermen were not as abundant as they are now. Therefore, every mohalla had kept at least one *Wokhul* for the washing purposes. The family in whose premises this *Wokhul* was kept was in the long-run known by its name. Another explanation forwarded is that the head of this family was in the Government service with a duty to realise taxes from *Wakhul* makers.

6. (*a*) *Kenoo*—It is used for a wet and watery thing. It is reported that a certain Pandit of Rainawari who had taken a distasteful dish at some party, was asked by a saint (*Mian Shah*) about the taste of the dish he had taken. He is reported to have replied that it was as tasteless as a Kinoo. Immediately the Pandit lost his real identity and became known as *Kinoo*.

7. *Kallawat*—It is said a Pandit by the name of Kailash was working as personal assistant of Colonel Watt, who constructed the Pahalgam Road during the rule of Maharaja Partap Singh. Kalla is the short form of Kailash, and colleagues of the Pandit connected with it the surname of the Colonel and, thus, originated a new name e.g., Kalawat. The descendants of the unfortunate assistant also lost their real family name and were known by the name of *Kallawat* since then.

8. *Wangnoo*—It stands for a brinjal in Kashmiri. An ancestor of this family is reported to have been highly fond of brinjals and was, therefore, nicknamed

after his favourite vegetable. Another explanation given is that Wangnoo is, perhaps, the only vegetable which is cooked with almost all the vegetables. Therefore, a man who could mix with anybody and won over even his foes was nicknamed as Wangnoo; Kashmiri Pandits as a whole were also called as Wangnoo for having successfully mixed up with all the races and religions, without losing their identity. This is perhaps a misnomer for a race who could save its identity only after having submerged its ninety per cent population with other races and religions. A friend sarcastically, but very correctly, remarked that gone are the days when they (Pandits) were called *Wangans.* Now they are only *Wangan Hachi* (dried brinjals).

9. *Labroo*—The head of a certain family was fortunate enough to win prefix in any venture he undertook. He was nicknamed Labh (profit), which in due course of time became *Labroo.*

10. *Taku*—An ancestor of this family was fond of taking his meals in a fresh taku (an earthen plate) everytime. He and his descendents were, therefore, known as Taku.

11. *Safaya*—A certain Pandit is reported to have been a lover of cleanliness and was known as *Safai,* which later on became Safaya.

12. *Chengaloo*—An ancestor of this family is reported to have been of a light heart and would not conceal his happiness and excitement even over small gains. *Chengun* in Kashmiri means to be jubilient. There are a few families of this nick name in the village Mattan of Anantnag district.

13. *Jogi*—An elder member of their family had become a Jogi.

14. *Buju*—There was an old woman in a Mohalla. She had two or three sons who were called *Bujihandi* (i.e., Sons of the old woman). This became their permanent nickname and their descendants came to be known as *Buju.*

15. *Sukhia*—The head of this family is reported to have played the role of a *Sakhi* (girl friend) in the Krishan Leela drama and was nicknamed as Sakhi, which later on became *Sukhia*. Another version of facts is given that a parent had named his son *Sukh* which became later his nickname.

16. *Peshin*—It means the time of afternoon in Kashmiri. A Pandit who was a Government servant had to attend to his job at the afternoon. He was nicknamed Peshin.

17. *Gamkhwar*—A Pandit was a born sympathiser. He would share the sorrow of one and all. Somebody out of envey nicknamed him *Gamkhar*. Mr. Fauq reports that one Sadanand Koul was given the title of Gamkhar by the Mughal King Shah Jahan. His progeny was also known by this title.

18. *Bula*—One of the ancestors of this family is reported to have been a foolishman. That is why he was called *Bula* (fool).

19. *Choor*—An ancestor of this family had been caught red-handed while committing a theft, or was a shareholder of the professional thieves. He was labelled as *Choor* (thief) for all the time to come.

20. *Zaroo*—A Pandit was a habitual gambler or had allowed gambling den to operate in his house, he was therefore, rightly nicknamed as *Zaroo* (a gambler). Another explanation given is that a certain Pandit was in habit of taking rash decisions without giving a proper thought to the facts. He was nick named as a Zaroo.

21. *Chrangoo*—It means a handful in Kashmiri. A certain Pandit was known for being a parsimony. He would not give to any begger more than a handful of grain. This led people to call him and his descendants as *Chrangoo*.

22. *Musa*—After a long and tedious journey or after doing some hard work a man, naturally, relaxes for sometime to refresh himself. This process of re-

freshing is called 'Muskadun' in Kashmiri. There are
two or three families of this name in village Mattan of
Anantnag district. They are professional Pandas hav-
ing their Jajmans (clients) spread all over the Jammu
region and the Punjab State. Every year these Pandas
go to their clients during winter season to collect their
annual Dan and Dakshina. It is said that some ancestor
of these families would continue to relax and refresh
himself for months together, after coming back from a
long, tedious and risky journey, over the peaks of Pir
Panchal. He was in the long-run nicknamed as Musa
and his progeny is known now by this name.

23. Brayth—It is a Kashmiri form of the Sanskrit
word 'Brasht', which means a deliberate deviation from
the religious path. Some of the ancestor of this family
must have been found guilty of some non-religious act
and was declared Brashta, which became Brayth in the
long-run.

24. Band—With the curious exception of Akingam
(a village in District Anantnag) the Bands are all Mus-
lims. 'The story of Akingam Baghats,' says Mr.
Lawrence, is peculiar. Brahmans considered acting
to be degrading, and even now the Brahmans of Kash-
mir the Akingam play as with contempt. But the
Brahman plays say that they took to the stage by the
express order of goddess Devi. The legend relates
that many years ago Devi appeared to the Akingam
Pandits, and, placing a fiddle in his hands, said, 'play
upon this fiddle'. He protested his inability, but on
the goddess persisting, he took up the blow and played
unearthly music. He was bidden by Devi to sit under
the deodars of the Akingam and play in her honour.
For some years he and his sons obeyed the goddess
behest but unable to withstand the prejudices of his
caste, he finally declined to play any more. On this
he was striken with blindness and wondered away to
the Lidder Valley. In a dream Devi appeared to the
Magistrate of the Lidder, and told him to take old
Pandit to Akingam. On reaching Akingam the Pandit

recovered his sight and since that day he and his des-
cendants fiddled away without further protest. These
Pandits never send their children to school, as they
believe that *Devi* would resent it and would kill their
children. This state of things has now completely
changed. Bands of Akingam (*Mohripora*) have left
this vocation since long but the name has persisted.

25. *Gadva*—A Pandit was seen always with a
Ghadva (a metal tumbler) in his hand going to pur-
chase milk or curd, or even throwing the '*Nirmal*'
in the river was nicknamed *Gadva*. Another explana-
tion offered is that a certain Pandit had collected, as a
hobby, a large number of different varieties of 'Gadvas'
and got this appellation.

26. *Yachh*—It is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit
word *Yaksha*. However, in Kashmir a certain rarely
visible animal possessing supernatural powers is now
called *Yachh*. Pandits offer Khichri and other sweet-
meats to this animal extra-ordinary on *Yaksha Amavasi*
in December-January, every year. It so happened
that a certain Pandit either used to make sounds like a
Yachh (i.e., *Bas, Bas*) or was some how specially linked
with the characteristic *Yaksha Pooja*. He along with
his descendants was nicknamed *Yachh*. The latter
assumption seems more true in the light of the fact that
this nickname is used mostly by *Gor* families.

27. *Bohgun*—It means a cooking vessel made of
brass. Some Pandit is stated to have had a hobby of
collecting different varieties of *Bahgun*, or was fond of
the food prepared in a certain type of *Bohgun*, and was
nicknamed as such, because in appearance he was as
fat and round as a '*Bohgun*'. Another explanation
given is that it is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word
Bahuguna (possessor of many qualities).

28. *Nakab*—It means a veil. Kashmiri Pandit
ladies did not wear a veil in the past. But a family
having introduced this practice at first, during Muslim
rule, got this nickname.

29. *Thalchoor*—It means a plate thief. A Pandit was either caught red handed while stealing *thals* (plates) or was accused of such a theft. He and his descendants got the appellation of *Thalchoor*.

30. *Kakh*—An elder brother, uncle or a cousin was out of reverence called as Kakh. Some Pandit for his good and generous nature seems to have won the public respect and was called *Kakh* by the people, other than his family members. He lost his real appellation and was along with his progeny known as Kak. However, there are repeated references of the family name *Kak* in Rajtarangini. Shaloka 1311 of Taranga VII reads, 'As his passage was blocked by warriors of the Kaka and other educated families, he retreated from. . .' R. S. Pandit in a footnote to above Shaloka says that the *Kaka* family is repeatedly referred to by Kalhana. Shaloka 180 and 599 of Taranga VIII says, 'holders of high military rank and others, brave men such as Tilka of the family of Kaka. . .'. 'From the very midst of . . ., Sufi captured alive in battle the brave knight Sobhka sprung from the family of Kaka. . .' Kaks in the ancient Kashmir, therefore, belonged to a military class.

31. *Chilam*—Some ancestor of this family was a *chilam* smoker and got this name.

32. *Thapal*—A few families of this name live in Anantnag city. Some of the common ancestor of these families must have been a habitual snatcher and got this nickname.

33. *Kuchur*—It means penis in Kashmiri. An ancestor of the family is reported to have been moving without trousers or a *Kacha* and thus unmindful of his exposed penis. He was along with his progeny nicknamed as *Kuchur*.

34. *Jad*—It means the eldest ancestor in Kashmiri. An elder member of this family is reported to have been behaving like an old and experienced man even during his childhood. He was therefore, nicknamed as *Jad*.

35. *Jalla*—A family of Rainawari Pandits was residing on the bank of Dal Lake (now turned into a quagmire). This part of the lake abounded in delicious fish. The fishermen catching the fish, would generally spread their nets on the compound wall of this family, to dry them up. A fish net in Kashmiri is called a *Zal*. This family was, therefore, nicknamed as *Zalu*, which in the long run became *Jala*.

36. *Puran*—A few families of this nickname live in village Zainapora. One of their common ancestor is reported to have been in habit of quoting from the Puranas on every occasion. He was, therefore, known as *Puran*.

37. *Zaharbad*—An ancestor of this family is reported to have been suffering from a serious type of Carbuncle on an exposed part of his body. He was, therefore, nicknamed as *Zaharbad*. Another reason related is that some ancestor of this family was a terrible mischief monger and was intolerably unpleasant man. The people expressed their displeasure for his mischievous character by an equally unpleasant nickname (i.e., *Zaharbad*).

97 Abnormal/Extra-ordinary Physique or Temperament

1. *Mushran*—An awkward and ugly man with a huge and powerful body is called Mushran. Some ancestor of this family must have been nicknamed as mushran because of his unusual physique and, later his descendants continued to be called by this name.

2. *Kuraz*—It is a name given to a very dangerous water animal. Some elder member of this family must have been of a fierce nature and was nicknamed Kuraz.

3. *Shagali*—Shagalis had come along with Pathans, under the leadership of Gulshagali. He was a long and healthy young man. A pandit was having an extra-ordinary physique like Gulshagali and was accordingly nicknamed.

4. *Sharga*—It is corrupt form of *Shogo* (a parrot). Some member of the family was having small eyes and a long nose like a parrot.

5. *Handoo*—This nickname was given to a Pandit who was fat and fresh like a sheep or to those Pandits who somehow were connected with flocks of sheep.

6. *Atal*—It is a corrupt form of *Thalal* (i.e., a Samashar). A Pandit with a broad forehead as if a forceful smasher, received this nickname.

7. *Gurtu*—It is a nickname given, perhaps, to those Razdans whose some ancestor was of *Gurtu* (yellow) colour. Gurtu is now used for those Pandits who do not cook meat and fish on the Shivratri festival.

8. *Shangloo*—Some elder member of this family is reported to have had six fingers in his hand and became known as six-fingered (*She Angul*).

9. *Mota*—A fat man's nickname.

10. *Langoo*—Some elder of the family was a lame man.

11. *Kaboo*—Any ancestor of this family is reported to have been a hunch backed (Kaboo) man.

12. *Marchawangan*—A thin and a red faced man may have been nicknamed as a red pepper. It is also possible that some ancestor of the family was in possession of a hot and pungent temperament, or may be some one of the family elders was a pepper trader.

13. *Raghu*—A thin and a frail man must have won the appellation.

14. *Kachroo*—Some ancestor must have been as red haired as an Englishman.

15. *Kichloo*—It means a long-beared in Kashmiri. Some elder of the family must have developed a long beard and received this nickname.

16. *Chakoo*—Chouk means 'bottom' as well as 'sour' in Kashmiri. It is reported that some elder of

the family was a sour-tempered man. Mr. Fauq connects it with an amusing and interesting story. A man named his twelfth son as *Chauk* (i.e., bottom) of the chain of sons and he (the son) became famous by the name of Chauk. It is amusingly and often awkwardly mispronounced as *Chakoo* (a Knife) outside Kashmir.

17. *Khashoo*—A left hander.

18. *Ganjoo*—A bald man's nickname or an appellation for a man who was put in-charge of *Ganj* (treasury).

19. *Gagroo*—It was the nickname of a person who was very small and swift.

20. *Kharoo*—A bald man.

21. *Zoroo*—A deaf man.

22. *Kariholu*—A nickname given to an elder of the family, whose neck was a little curved.

23. *Kaw*—An ancestor of this family was as black as a crow.

24. *Daraz*—A long-heighted ancestor of the family was given this name.

25. *Mam*—It means maternal uncle in Kashmiri. A man was in habit of poking his nose in everybody's affairs. He and his children were, therefore, nicknamed as Mam.

26. *Chacha*—The word Chacha is used by Kashmiri Muslims for a paternal uncle. A Pandit who unnecessarily involved himself in other peoples' affairs must have received this nickname.

27. *Tut*—A man with a long chin was nicknamed Tut.

28. *Bambroo*—An ancestor of this family was as dark complexioned as a black bee. It is also said that some elder member of this family was in habit of making sounds like a beetle when alone. That is why he and his descendants came to be known as Bambroo.

29. *Kalla*—It means head in Kashmiri. An an-cestor of this family had a conspicuous head and was named as Kalla.

30. *Sikh*—It is said that an ancestor of this family had grown a long beard to conceal the white patches on his face. He and his family members were nick-named as Sikh.

31. *Hakhoo*—It was used as a nickname for a thin and frial person. His descendants were also labelled as Hakhoo, even if some one among them may be as fat as an elephant.

32. *Trakroo*—This nickname was given to a man who was of very hot temperament and, of course, a hard task master. The nickname became part and parcel of his descendants also. *Trakur* in Kashmiri is used for anything hard.

33. *Miskeen*—A man was very kind to poor and needy. He was nicknamed as *Miskeen* (poor). Another explanation is that a well-to-do man used to feign as a poor man. He was along with his progeny called as Miskeen.

34. *Chhot*—It means a short statured person. Some elder of the family was unusually of a short stature and won this nickname for himself and his descendants.

35. *Braroo*—An ancestor of this family must have been a blue eyed man and was nicknamed as *Braroo* (the cat).

36. *Kaloo*—It means a person unable to speak. The name is Kaloo (just like a dumb-man).

37. *Nikka*—It is an 'affectionate name' given to small boys in Kashmiri families. Such a name gene-rally gets discarded as soon as the boy grows up to be a youth. However, some Pandit seems to have been called *Nikka*, even after he attained his adulthood, and thus got the nickname. Another reason could be that an ancestor of this family was a short and small

.statured that even in his youth and old age, he looked like a boy and was called a *Nikka*.

38. *Kissu*—It means a small finger. Some ancestor of the family is reported to have been in possession of an extra-ordinary *Kis,* or was in habit of displaying his small finger in a peculiar way and got the appellation.

39. *Mandal*—In Kashmiri mandal means buttocks. An ancestor of the family is reported to have been a large rumped person and, thus, got this nickname.

40. *Dev*—Some Pandit seems to have been nicknamed as such, either for his extra-ordinary valour or having the habit of taking too much food or sleep—the peculiarities of a *Dev*. A *Dev* is an imaginary being like a Jinnie of Arabian nights.

41. *Dasi*—A few families of this name live in Anantnag town. An ancestor of this family is reported to have been a spend thrift and would become bankrupt in every trade and occupation he owned. He was thus nicknamed as *Dasi*, meaning a person who would finish and destroy everything.

42. *Vokhu*—An ancestor of this family is reported to have been of abnormal physique as well as temperament.

43. *Padar*—An ancestor of this family is reported to have a deformed foot which looked like a cloven hoof and was thus nicknamed as Padar.

98 Gotras and Family Names of Kashmiri Pandits*

Name of the Gotra	Malmasi or Banamasi	Name of the family included in the Gotra
1. Bawa Kapushtal	Banamasi	Nadu, Kalla, Sabare, Laddu, Chur, Chudhri, Wangnu, Wante, Katu, Geeru, Shev, Sakeem

* Extracted from Kashapkrit Gotra Adhaya.

Name of the Gotra	Malmasi or Banamasi	Name of the family included in the Gotra
2. Bawa Kapushtal Wup-maney	Banamasi	Kharu
3. Swamin Dass Logakshi	,,	Chhot
4. Kantha Dumayan	,,	Kaw, Brayth
5. Dhar Bhardwaj	,,	Jangan
6. Dev Bhardvaj	,,	Jatu
7. Bhoot Upmanu	Malmasi	Dev, Khavree, Braroo, Sabeda, Uppal
8. Bhoot Upmanu Sheelam	,,	Ganju, Ganz
9. Swamin Attri	,,	Shal, Handu, Sikh, Chak
10. Shandelya	,,	Shar
11. Swaminwatsa Gargi	,,	Sum, Langoo
12. Swamin Koshak Watsa Upamanu	,,	Choku
13. Sharman Koutsa Attri	,,	Datt, Gadva, Baldat, Nand, Agu.
14. Deva Parashar	,,	Yachh
15. Swamin Gottam	,,	Kaloo, Tulsi
16. Dev Parashar	,,	Bahugun, Tulsi
17. Dhar Kapisthal Uppamanu	,,	Yech
18. Mitraman Koshak Attri	,,	Pandit
19. Koul Dattatri	Banamasi	Kaul, Nagari, Jalali Wattal, Nika, Sultan, Ogra, Muju, Vunt, Tota, Kisu, Mandal, Nagri, Rafiz, Bali, Singh, Jawansher, Aima, Bamzi, Darbikak
20. Upmanu (Upma)	Malmasi	Dev
21. Dhoom	,,	Razdan
22. Kantha Dumayan	Banamasi	Razdan, Wangni, Muju, Sher

9

Name of the Gotra	Malmasi or Banamasi	Name of the family included in the Gotra
23. Swamin Mudgali	Malmasi	Razdan, Khazanchi, Mushran, Kanth, Haswalu, Zabu
24. Swamin Gautam	,,	Gurtu, Razdan, Nakab, Thalchur, Kak, Labroo, Langar, Chrangoo, Kakpuri, Badam, Kazi, Chilam, Chilmoo, Thapal, Paddru, Khosa, Raina Pormuju
25. Swamin Gottam Logakshi	,,	Razdan
26. Swamin Bhardwaj	Banamasi	Tiku, Munshi, Khar, Miskeen, Khan, Wafari
27. Paldeva Dass Gargi	Malmasi	Putt, Kadalbuju, Kakroo, Langroo, Bakaya, Khasu, Kachloo, Misri, Khar, Nam, Meerakhor
28. Pattswamin Koshak	Banamasi	Ganjoo, Kachroo, Chalu, Man, Jatto, Ambardar, Muthu, Braroo, Pandit, Wanchoo, Mian, Jawansher, Fotedar, Killu, Vaishnavi, Salman
29. Devpatswamin Upmanu Koshak	Malmasi	Shivpuri
30. Bawa Kashpath Upmanu	Banamasi	Wani Khan
31. Deva Upmanu	Malmasi	Khosa, Mewa, Pandit
32. Sarwaman Vas Upmanu	,,	Walu (Wali).

No.	Name of the Gotra	Malmasi or Banamasi	Name of the family included in the Gotra
33.	Swamin Upmanu	Malmasi	Gigoo
34.	Bhut Upmanu Shalkayan	,,	Geeroo
35.	Swamin Was Upmanu	,,	Bhat
36.	Kash Upmanu	,,	Bhat
37.	Bhutbhav Upmanu Logakshi	,,	Peshan, Zalpuri
38.	Rajbut Logakshi	,,	Bhan
39.	Ratar Bargosey	,,	Zutshi
40.	Bhut Logakshi Raso Myavan Gotam	,,	Handu
41.	Dev Mun Gottam Koshak Madgali Bardwaj	,,	Kukil, Pandit
42.	Swamin Mudgali Parashar	,,	Geeru
43.	Swamin Basa	Banamasi	Pandit, Raina, Tabchi
44.	Swamin Koshak	Malmasi	Thakar, Wattal
45.	Swamin Bhargav	,,	Bali, Vattu
46.	Swamin Koshak Bhardwaj	,,	Batt, Kukroo
47.	Swamin Shandalya	,,	Pandit, Vas
48.	Swamin Wattsa Attri	,,	Gassi, Waza, Thussu
49.	Swamin Gottam Attri Shalan Kotas	,,	Raina
50.	Swamin Gottam Attri	,,	Labbu
51.	Swamin Bhargav Bhargav Bhardvaj Wasattri	,,	Kaul
52.	Swamin Kantha Kashyap	,,	Labbu
53.	Swamin Gargi	,,	Machamah
54.	Swamin Gankoshak	,,	Phadhey

No.	Name of the Gotra	Malmasi or Banamasi	Name of the family included in the Gotra
55.	Swamin Gotam Bhard-vaj	Malmasi	Raina, Raj, Kamda
56.	Swamin Das Logakshi	Banamasi	Naru
57.	Bhardvaj	,,	Dhar, Misri, Jawan-sher, Bangi, Thalchoor, Turki, Kandhari, Trichhal, Wuthu, Waguzari, Wangnoo
58.	Vashishta Bhardavaj	Malmasi	Bhat, Hakhu and Handu
59.	Dev Bhardvaj	,,	Bhat, Kalu, Gadru
60.	Sharman Bhardvaj	,,	Bhat
61.	Dev Bhardvaj Koshak	,,	Deva
62.	Nanda Koshak Bhard-vaj	,,	Bhat
63.	Shandalya Bhardvaj	,,	Bhat
64.	Koshak Bhardvaj	,,	Bhat
65.	Shandali	,,	Kar
66.	Chhand Shandalya	,,	Sadhu
67.	Dhar Shandalya	,,	Jogi
68.	Dhar Vasak Shan-dalya	Banamasi	Safaya
69.	Hardev Sheelan Kapil	Malmasi	Mota
70.	Shar Shandalya	,,	Sad
71.	Raj Shandalya	,,	Darru
72.	Sam Shandalya	,,	Bhat
73.	Swamin Rish-i Kin Gargi	,,	Kaul (Kamzat)
74.	Sheelam Kottas	Banamasi	Telwan Koul, Muku
75.	Kottas Attari	Malmasi	Bhat
76.	Raj Datta Attri Shee-lam Kotas	,,	Bhat
77.	Sharman Attri	,,	Gaddu

No.	Name of the Gotra	Malmasi or Banamasi	Name of the family included in the Gotra
78.	Bhu Attri	Malmasi	Warikoo
79.	Swamin Warshagney	,,	Kaw, Katju, Chothaee
80.	Bava Kashpattal	Banamasi	Kaw
81.	Rattra Visvamitra Agastya	Malmasi	Trakru, Mathu
82.	Nar Varishigraya	Banamasi	Safaya, Bakshi, Kuchru, Shali
83.	Dhar Kashpatal	Malmasi	Bhat, Ladhu
84.	Kanth Kashyap	,,	Razdan, Bhat, Dasi
85.	Mitra Kashyap	,,	Bhat
86.	Datta Sharma Kantha Kashyap	,,	Raina
87.	Dev Kashyap Madgali Kashyap	,,	Bradhu
88.	Dev Kashyap Madgali Gotam	,,	Akhun
89.	Dev Gargi	,,	Bhan
90.	Dev Vasishta	,,	Badgaee
91.	Dev Kotas Atri	,,	Akbaloo
92.	Dev Vishvamitra Varshagney	,,	Bangu
93.	Dev Gottam	,,	Bhat
94.	Deva Kantha Kashyap	,,	Kar
95.	Deva Logakshi	,,	Pandit, Mandshari
96.	Dev Koshak	,,	Bhat, Pandit
97.	Attar Varshagny Chandalya	,,	Chaudhri
98.	Koshak	,,	Bhat
99.	Path Swamin Koshak	Banamasi	Dev, Ratar, Pariwari, Pandit, Wattal
100.	Vashisht	Malmasi	Bhat, Rangroo, Teng

Name of the Gotra	Malmasi or Banamasi	Name of the family included in the Gotra
101. Ratra Visvamitra Agast	Malmasi	Pandit
102. Karr, Chhand, Shandaly	,,	Chaudhari, Kar
103. Mitra	,,	Pandit
104. Sharman Kotsa	,,	Bhat, Sesu
105. Datta Das	,,	Khar
106. Vasistha Swamin Mudgalya	,,	Bandhari
107. Isvara Shandalya Koshak	,,	Rawal, Nakhasi
108. Watt Datta Shelan Kotsa	,,	Bhat, Sindhu, Kasab, Malik, Khanmushi
109. Parashar	,,	Yadh
110. Dev Shandalya	,,	Bataphaloo
111. Ratar Varshagney	,,	Kotroo
112. Atra Bhargava	,,	Happa
113. Bhoot Logakshi	,,	Pandit
114. Ral Vasistha	,,	Shangaloo
115. Datta Varshagney	,,	Sonar
116. Rishi Koshak	,,	Kashkari
117. Reshi Kotsi Garma	,,	Zaroo
118. Nand Koshak	,,	Bhat
119. Sumatsa Gargi	,,	Bhat, Sum
120. Swamin Maigali	,,	Madan
121. Swamin Daswasi	,,	Khan, Katwa
122. Dattatri	Banamasi	Kaul
123. Sharma Khyapa	Malmasi	Kaul

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CHAPTER E

KASHMIRI MUSLIM NAMES

1 Origin

Short-sighted and fanatic Deva Swami's blunt re-
fusal to take agnostic *Renchan* into the Brahmanic fold
threw open the flood gates for a chain of sauve and sober
Islamic missionaries as well as rabid religious zealots.
While the missionaries and saints belonging to the new
faith put a healing hand on the ailing edifice of Hinduism
in Kashmir, the zealous extremists did not hesitate to
axe down the strong and obstinate foundations of Brah-
manism. New and fresh waves of religious equality
changed the whole outward appearance of the Hindu
society. And in this process of reconstruction and
reformation, the Hindu names became a first casuality.
Unlike Christians, Muslims did not allow the Hindu
names to continue. In fact, the first step in converting
a person to the new faith was to give him a new name.
Therefore, the age old Sanskrit names were replaced
by new and unfamiliar Arabic and Persian names. The
smell of Gangetic plains and Himalayan peaks was ming-
led with the odour of Arabian lands. Persian and Arabic
language and literature as well as other Islamic texts,
including the Holy Quran became a chief source of names
for the re-born Kashmiris. Knowingly or unknow-
ingly Islam has put a greater emphasis on names than
the ancient Hindu law-givers. Even a detailed and
minute search would not be able to locate a Muslim with
a Sanskrit name. With all this emphasis and importance
given to names Muslim christening is still a simple affair.
It does not involve the cumbrous procedure and un-
necessary details as provided in Hindu sacrament of
'*Namakarana*'.

2 Personal Names

Lawrence states that on the seventh day, (after the
birth of child) which is known as *Sundar* day, the mother

bathes and the child is given its name. The name is
given by the *Pir* of the family (*Pir* of the family is relic of
Hindu custom of family *Guru*). He usually gives some
name suggested by the month in which the child is born.
Thus a boy born in the months of *Ramzan, Shaban* or
Rajab will most likely be called *Ramzan, Shaban* or
Rajab. A boy born in the month in which a great saint
died is often named after the saint. Thus *Sultan* is
probably the name of a boy who was born in the month
in which the great saint *Makhdum Sahib* died. The
Kram name is of course added to the birth name—e.g.,
Ramzan Rahtor, Shaban Bhat, Rajab Mir, Sultan Ione
Girls are never known by their Kram name. Among the
more common names of girls may be mentioned, *Fazli,
Mali, Mihri, Janu, Daulati, Rahmi, Kali, Pristi, Sundri,
Zuni* (the moon maiden), *Mukhti, Farzi, Ashumi*. The
richer people favour names like *Taju, Sitaru, Begam,*
and *Ashu*. The Shias will never call their sons *Sultan,
Sadik* or *Umar*.[1]

2.1 Sources

The sources of Muslim names, as against the Hindu
nomenclature, are limited and few. Besides the lan-
guage and literature of Persia and Arabia the ninety-nine
names of the God, as given below, are stated to be the
main sources of the personal names of Muslims. These
names are given either in their original form or are slightly
modified. But in spoken Kashmiri they are changed be-
yond recognition. Thus *Mohammed* becomes *Moma,
Ahmad* becomes *Amu* and *Mohi-ud-Din* becomes *Mahda,*
so on and so forth.

1.	Allah	God
2.	Al-Rahman	The Merciful
3.	Al-Raheem	The Compassionate
4.	Al-Malik	The King of Kings
5.	Al-Quddus	The Purest
6.	As-Salam	The Eternal
7.	Al-Momin	The Evertruthful

8.	Al-Mohmin	The Ever Protecting from fear
9.	Al-Azim	The Greatest
10.	Al-Jabbar	The Mightiest (cruel)
11.	Al-Mutakabir	The Hearty
12.	Al-Khaliq	The Creator
13.	Al-Bari	The Maker of everything
14.	Al-Mussawir	The Painter
15.	Al-Gaffar	The Forgiver
16.	Al-Qahar	The Cruel
17.	Al-Wahab	
18.	Al-Razaq	The Giver of Bread
19.	Al-Fateh	The Victor
20.	Al-Ilim	The All Knowing
21.	Al-Qabiz	The possessor
22.	Al-Basit	The deliverer
23.	Al-Khafiz	The Pride Breaker
24.	Al-Faffy	The Raiser
25.	Al-Mooziz	The Giver of Honour
26.	Al-Moozil	The Degenerater
27.	Al-Sami	The Listener
28.	Al-Basir	The Seer
29.	Al-Hakim	The Governor
30.	Al-Adil	The Dispenser of Justice
31.	Al-Latif	The Keen Observer
32.	Al-Khabar	The All Knowing
33.	Al-Halim	The Endurer
34.	Al-Gafir	The Forgiver
35.	Al-Shakir	The Grateful
36.	Al-Ali	The Elevated
37.	Al-Kabir	The Eldest
38.	Al-Hafiz	The Protector (Saviour)
39.	Al-Muqiyat	The Source of Strength
40.	Al-Haseeb	The Keeper of Accounts

41.	Al-Jamil	The Beautiful
42.	Al-Karim	The Generous
43.	Al-Raqeeb	The Observer
44.	Al-Muzeeb	The Acceptor
45.	Al-Wasy	The All Pervading
46.	Al-Rafay	The Redeemer
47.	Al-Harimul Muluk	The Lord of all the Lands
48.	Al-Hakumu Mutlaq	The Over Lord
49.	Al-Wodud	The Lover
50.	Al-Mujeed	The Almighty God
51.	Al-Bayat	The Lifter
52.	Al-Safeed	The Witness
53.	Al-Haq	The Truth
54.	Al-Wakil	The Pleader
55.	Al-Qawi	The Almighty
56.	Al-Mateen	The Strong
57.	Al-Wali	The Friend
58.	Al-Hameed	The Adorable
59.	A-Muttahst	The Counter (Assessor)
60.	Al-Mubbdi	The Creator
61.	Al-Muheed	The Redeemer of Lives
62.	Al-Muhee	The Giver of Life
63.	Al-Mumayat	The Killer
64.	Al-Hai	The Life
65.	Al-Qayyum	The Perennial
66.	Al-Wajeed	
67.	Al-Waheed	
68.	Al-Samad	The Indifferent
69.	Al-Qadir	The Powerful
70.	Al-Muqtadar	The Master of Nature
71.	Al-Muqaddamt	The one who survives from
72.	Wa-Al-Mukheer	the beginning to the end
73.	Al-Awal Wa Al-Akheer	
74.		

75.	Al-Tahir-Al-Batin	Knower of Purity, Pure and Genuine
76.	Al-Wali	The Helper of All
77.	Al-Muttal	The Last
78.	Al-Baro	The Benefactor
79.	Al-Tawwab	The Redeemer of Sin
80.	Al-Muntqim	The Avenger
81.	Al-Ghafur	The Forgiver
82.	Al-Raof	The Kind
83.	Al-Malik-ul-Muluk	The Master of Creation
84.	Zulgeelal Wal-Ikram	The Splendid and Glamorous
85.	Al-Maqsat	
86.	Al-Jamay	The Preserver
87.	Al-Ghani	The Care-free
88.	Al-Mugani	The Bestower of indifference
89.	Al-Muti-wa-Al-Maofy	The Forgiver
90.		
91.	Al-Nafay	The Benefector
92.	Al-Zar	The Giver of Pain
93.	Al-Noor	The Light
94.	Al-Hadi	The Director
95.	Al-Azali	The Ancients
96.	Waal-Baqi	The Everlasting
97.	Al-Waris	The Inheritor
98.	Al-Raseed	The Guide
99.	Al-Subur	The Patient

2.2 Spoken Names

As pointed out earlier the Muslim personal names change beyond recognition in the spoken language. A few examples are given below. However, the trend has set in not to contract or shorten a particular name in the day-to-day conversation. On the other hand, every effort is made to use the name in its full form in the spoken

language also. It is now taken as sign of contempt and disregard towards a person whose name is not spoken in full (i.e., in the same form in which it is written). However, the use of short form of name is still used out of affection. But the liberty of using such names is available to the elder members of the family, nearest relatives or, of course, to the closest friends only. To use the short form of one's personal name as the name of affection is gradually losing its ground. A new fashion of coining the affection names is gaining the ground. Most modern names like Pintoo, Bantee, Saba, Boba etc., are being adopted progressively. Moreover, the choice of personal names is not being limited to a few traditional sources. Every effort is being made to coin new and newer, beautiful and charming names. Personal names with a poetic touch are preferred above all. Rarely are now the traditional personal names given to children.

	Name in written language	*Name in spoken language*
1.	Ghulam Mohammed	*Momma*
2.	Ghulam Ahmad	*Ammu*
3.	Abdul Rahaman	*Rahman/Ramu*
4.	Abdul Ali/Ali Mohammed	*Aliye*
5.	Mohd Abdullah	*Abu*
6.	Ghulam Hassan	*Hasun*
7.	Habib-ullah	*Habu*
8.	Abdul Ahad	*Aohud*
9.	Ghulam Nabi	*Nabu/Nabir*
10.	Kamal Ahmad	*Kamal*
11.	Abdul Khaliq	*Khallu*
12.	Mohd. Mustaffa	*Musu*
13.	Mohd. Khaleel	*Khalilu*
14.	Gul Mohd.	*Gulla*
15.	Mohd. Ibraham	*Ibu*

Name *in written language*	*Name* *in spoken language*
16. Mohd. Maqbool	*Magu*
17. Bashir Ahmad	*Bashu*
18. Mohd. Akbar	*Aku*
19. Abdul Gani	*Ganu*
20. Abdul Qadir	*Qadu*
21. Mohd. Sabir	*Sabiru*
22. Mohd. Ramzan	*Ramuz*
23. Sona Ullah	*Sonu*
24. Abdul Satar	*Sataru*
25. Abdul Gaffar	*Gaffur*
26. Abdul Wahab	*Wahabu*
27. Abdul Aziz	*Azizu*
28. Abdul Majeed	*Maju*
29. Mohd. Jamal	*Jamalu*
30. Mohd. Jabbar	*Jabra*
31. Mohd. Subhan	*Subhanu*
32. Abdul Raheem	*Rahimu*

3 Surnames

The census report of 1911 states that the Proselytes
to Islamism in Kashmir were mostly from the original
Hindu population—strangers and foreigners being but
few—and this is more patent from the fact that the present
Mohammadan population is divided and subdivided in
accordance with the distinction observable among their
fellow countrymen, though the lapse of years has slightly
modified particular caste derivations so as to make
them unrecognizable by the light of previous custom.
It has come to be recognised as a sort of analogy, that
as the trade, habitual occupation of a person, so the
peculiar affix to his name, as for instance, *Aziz Khar*,
the '*Khar*' referring to the occupation of blacksmith,
'*Sobhan Chhan*' or carpenter, then again Ramzan Kak-

pura from *Kakpur*, the name of an ancestoral home etc.,. etc."[2]

Walter R. Lawrence describes the origin of Kashmiri *Kram* names an interesting phenomenon. Although the *Krams* have ceased to have any individuality or distinction, yet to inquire whether the various *Krams* sprang from a Brahman, Khattri or Vaisya origin. It is supposed by many that Mussalmans of the Pandit, *Kol*, *But*, *Aitu*, *Rishi*, *Mantu* and *Ganai* Krams are descendants of Brahmans who were forcibly converted to Islam in the fourteenth century. He further states that he tried to trace in the features of the men of those krams...but found that the Mussalman of the Pandit Kram is exactly like other Mussalmans.[3]

4 Sects

Hassan is of the view that converts to Islam maintained their old titles right from the time of Sultans. Even now the quality of defiance is still found in them.

" 1. *Raina*: They belong to two groups. First is the descendant of Brahmans known as Razdan. Second group has descended from the *Chandarvanshi* Rajput families whose ancestor was Raja Susram Chander. He had come from Nagarkot and held the post of Commander-in-chief and Governor of this State. His descendant Rawan Chandra became a convert to Islam and adopted the Raina as title meaning holder of power. His progeny continued to enjoy a superior position down to the time of Akbar. It is wrong to confuse or mix up the lones with Rainas that is a separate clan.

2. *Pandit*: They are the original and superior Brahmans of nobility Koul—They are the descendants of *Dattatri* Brahmans.

Communities like *Yeto, Manto, Thukar, Parry, Wani, Para, Padar, Turki, Kumbhi, Masala, Sofi* etc., were probably the Sudras of Hindu times. History makes no mention of them. Malik Ahmad Yetto, Syyed Mato, Jahangir Padar were the nobles during the time of Sul-

tans. It is said that the Thukars came from Kishtwar. Most of the Muslims believe that Pandit, Koul, Bhat, Yeto, Rishi etc., are originally Brahmans.

3. *Ganai:* In Kashmiri it means a Munshi. They are the descendents of virtuous and influential Brahmans. Halmat Ganai was a pious man of his time but was compelled to adopt the profession of a butcher. Today his off springs are butchers. Except Dumbs, who are the basest of all tribes, all people consider it shameful to be called *Ganai*.

4. *Rishi:* It was not a clan but anybody attending upon the graves of Rishis for a generation or two came to be called by this name."[4]

Lawrence believes that *Magres, Tantres, Dars, Dangars, Rainas, Rahtors, Thakurs* and *Naiks* have sprang from Kashtris, as ancient history mentions that the bearers of these names in Hindu times were a military and war-like people. '*Lone*' is generally assigned a Vaisya Origin and the Damars are said to be descendants of Sudras, the lowest of the four Hindu castes.[5]

Lavanyas and *Tantarin* have been referred to at many places by Kalhana. The Lavanyas played a great part in the internal troubles of Hindu Kashmir. They formed an important tribal section of the rural population of ancient Kashmir. Their name survives in present day 'Kram' name of Lone. The surname Lone is now a days a mere name, there being nothing to distinguish those who bear it from other Muslims in regard to custom, occupation, etc. Similarly the name *Tantrin* survives in the 'Kram'. Tantri, which is borne by a considerable section of the Muslim population of Kashmir. The distinctions of race or caste which may be supposed to have once separated the numerous *Krams* of agricultural population have long ago disappeared. There is nothing now to distinguish a *Tantri* family in appearance or custom from any other Muslim of Kashmir. Families claiming *Tantri* Kram may be found in most of the towns and villages throughout the valley.[6]

5 Sheikhs

Sheikhs are the original inhabitants of Kashmir having been converted to Islam. This is a large community with many branches. Shaikh is an Arabic word (pl. shuyu- kh). It literally means an old man or men of authority[7]. The term seems to be widely used in South Asia to designate Muslims descended from Hindu converts.[8]

"In Kashmir 'the census of 1891' does not show the divisions into which the Mussalmans of the valley fall, but it may be stated that the great mass of the village people come under the head Sheikh and are the descendants of the original Hindus.[9] Hassan also confirms that Sheikhs are the descendants of original inhabitants of Kashmir. Madan believes that Sheikhs settled in urban areas may have descended from the immigrants. Hassan quotes Lawrence having given their clan as *Kukikhel* (off shoot of Afridis), *Yusaf Zai* and *Jogo Khalbri* (Khatak) Khaibaris or Afridis reside in Drangahama. They have maintained the tradition of their clan and speak in *Pashtu* idiom. They carry the sword and dagger with them. Yusuf Zais live in Hamal. They are settled in the villages of Beru. Maharaja Gulab Singh settled some of them for safeguard of his boundaries. The Machhipora Afghans got mixed up with the local population as a result of their matrimonial alliances."[10]

Madan states that "not many Sheikh use that appellation with their names. It is more common to use other types of family names. One of the most widely prevalent of such names among Kashmiri Muslims is Bhat, which is, of course, the same as Bhatta, and obviously bears testimony to the fact of conversion."[11]

Of course it must be expected that a certain proportion of the resident Mohammaden population comprises of families whose progenitors or common ancestors had been foreigners, and although, as already observed these are remarkably few, it is significant that they are upto the present even known as '*Bahar Se Aye Hue*' or foreigners.

10

6. *Syyeds:* To quote Hassan the Syyidis came to Kashmir during the time of Sultans either on account of the turmoil created by Timur's invasions or through the enticement of the local Sultans. They are regarded the most respected class owing to their descent from the Prophet. They have maintained their identity by continuing the profession of '*Pir Muridi*'. In the past, anybody who would adopt a different trade or profession would no longer claim to be a Sayed. But nowadays almost all the Sayeds have opted for secular jobs and hold very attractive and lucrative administrative posts. Hassan located eight categories of Sayeds of superior rank and position. They are (1) *Qadiri* (2) *Naqashbandi* (3) *Andrabi* (4) *Mantaqi* (5) *Dehbidi* (6) *Dawariki* (7) *Hamdani* (8) *Other* Syyids who are the follower of the Syyids who had settled down in Kashmir. Some of them attend to farming also. Census report of 1911 states that the titular nomenclature of the Syyed is '*Mir*' and curiously enough the epithet '*Mir*' changes its significance just as it is used either as an affix or prefix to the name of a Syyed. A Syyed's position whether he is a priest or a layman, is determined according the word '*Mir*' standing before or after his name. They are further subdivided in the following classes viz., those (*a*) who practise '*Pirmuridi*' the spiritual intution to disciples and (*b*) who have taken to agriculture.

7 Mughals

They came to Kashmir, during the rule of Sultans, from Khurasan and Turkistan, and settled permanently here. They are not a numerous body in Kashmir. They have lost all the traces of their descent by intermarrying with the ordinary Muslims of Kashmir. Their surnames are *Mir, Beg, Bandi, Bach* and *Ashai.*

Mir: This is a corrupted form of *Mirza* (*Mir* plus *Zada*). The title Mir was common among the *Syyids* and *Mughals.* According to Hassan the *Syyeds* prefix the word '*Mir*' to their names e.g., Mir Mubarak and Mir Maqbool, whereas the *Mughals* use it as suffix to their

names. (viz., Aziz Mir, Gaffar Mir etc.) However, out of respect and reverence some Mughals would be called Mir as prefix, like Mir Ghulam Qadir. However Mr. Lawrence gives us another version of the 'Mir' as a surname. He says, "Mir is the Kram name of the Sayads. While he retains his saintly profession the Mir is prefixed to his name".[12]

8. *Beg:* It is a Turki word meaning the elder brother like Kakh. During the rule of Sultans and Mughals, some Mughals of the Beg group settled down in the valley. They were men of rank and position. However, their nobility has waned and today their descendants are seen in ordinary and even mean professions and mundane services.

9. *Ashai:* They are reported to have come to the valley during the time of Sultans. They came from a village called *Ishavar*, in Khurasan. *Ashai* is, therefore, a corrupted form of *Ishavar*.

10. *Banday:* They came here during the rule of *Chugtai Mughals* and settled down permanently in the valley. They are reported to have been men of wealth and power. They founded an estate (Jagir) in a village of Bandarpora and were, thus, known as Bande.

11. *Bachh:* Their ancestors are reported to have come, to make the valley of Kashmir their permanent home, from Turkistan. They founded an estate (Jagir) at Bachhapora (a suburb of Srinagar city) and were named as Bachh.

12. *Gann:* It is a very derogatory term in Kashmiri. But the Mughals of this group are reported to have come from a village called *Gorgan* in Iran, and this word has been corrupted into *Gan*.

13. *Kanth:* Their ancestor was one Khwaja Hussain Kabili. He was an engineer during Akbars time and was entrusted with the construction of the fort of Nagar Nagar, which was inspected by the emperor in person and along other things he gave the *Khwaja* the prize of a

necklace (Kantha). Hence he and his descendants came to be known as Kanth.

14. *Pathans:* The Pathans are more numerous than the Mughals and are chiefly to be seen in *Uttarmachhipora* Tehsil, reports Mr Lawrence. They settled down in Kashmir during the Afghan rule. They are always given the title of Khan. The title of Khan has now no validity because the *Domb*, *Hanjis* as well as Snuff sellers have adopted the title of *Khan*. Another title used by Pathans is *Khaibari*. Lawrence is quoted by Hassan to have classified the Pathans with Sheikhs. He describes them as off shoots of *Afridis*.

15. *Shaikh:* They are the original inhabitants of Kashmir and have been discussed in detail elsewhere (See Sec. E-5). Following are the subdivisions of this community.

16. *Pirzada:* It is highly respected class of Sheikhs. They are reported to be the descendants of Brahmana converts. Eliot has rightly remarked that the guiding principle of the Brahmanas has always been not so much that they have a particular creed to enforce, as that whatever the creed of India, they must be its ministers.[13] Naturally after conversion they attended to the worshipping and religious affairs and guided their followers. To this day, their descendants are considered virtuous and respected for their religious knowledge and leadership. Nowadays they have ceased to have any authority over religious places. They are knitted with Syyeds through matrimonial alliances. They are now more and more opting for other secular jobs and are sharing the highest offices of the State administration.

17. *Baba:* Hassan is of the view that it is not a clan but a title given to one who performs deeds of virtue. Even *Pirzadas* are sometimes called *Baba* or *Shah*. But the *Kram* name Shah has been used by a clan of beggars who held several villages. They used to work as agriculturists during the summer and would beg during the

winter. But with the changed times they have emerged
as a very successful business community and have amassed
large wealth and property. There is a village known
as *Faqir Nambal* in Anantnag District of South Kash-
mir. Consequently Shah has become a very common
surname which can be assumed by anybody, whether
or not he has a claim to any spiritual or temporal powers.

18. *Mulla or Maulvi:* It is a title given to those
indulging in written or unwritten sciences. There were
many illustrious families of Maulvis who kept the torch
of learning burning. Hassan mentions the name of
Maulvi Abdul Khair as an illustrious scholar. How-
ever, there are other categories of Mullas, Commonly
known as *Mala*. They have, says Lawrence, fallen in
social position...Many *Dums* and *Hanji's* have adopted
the Kram name of *Mal*, but the *Hanjis* regard the name
as corruption of the Punjabi word for boatman (*Mallah*).
Hassan has divided the Malas into the following four
categories: (1) Mulla of the Mosque mostly residing in
the city or village, doing *Imamat*, living on alms and
delivering lessons to the children; (2) Second category of
Malas is that of grave digger who burry the dead. They
are known as *Gorkhan;* (3) In the third category fall
those Malas who give a bath to the dead before their
burial. They are called *Sharngari;* (4) and final category
of Malas is those sons of agriculturists who have per-
manently adopted tilling as their profession.

19. *Chak and Malik:* They were the nobles of
highest power. The Chaks are said to be the descendants
of *Lankar Chak* hailing from Dardistan. During the
Sultans they assumed the highest power and ultimately
founded a Chak dynasty. Yousuf Shah Chak was the
last ruler of this dynasty.

Malik was, on the other hand, a title conferred by
the Kings. The Sultans gave this title to many Jagir-
dars, Army Officers and other position holders. The
protectors of passes to India and Turkistan were also
given this title. There are many Muslim families of

this surname. Many lowly families also have adopted this *Kram* now.

20. *Artisans:* Hassan has divided them into two groups. The first being of artisans like carpenter, masson, blacksmith, potter, butcher, dyer, washerman, and milk-man etc. They have been classed in between as regards the virtue and vice. The second group consists of *Dombas, Galvans, Hanjis, Chopans,* etc. They have been described as the basest of the people and masters of mischief and misdoings.

21. *Domba:* They existed as a caste in the Hindu Kashmir. Raja Pravarsen is reported to have engaged *Dombs, Chandals, Malechas, Sansis,* (*Chhenchhiwattal*) and *Meghs* as the carriers of messages at the time of his occupation of Hindustan. After the campaign was over, they were employed to look after the cattle. During the Sikh rule loss of a cattle by theft was to be compensated by the *Domba* of the locality. They have now got in the Muslim mainstream and have adopted attractive and honourable 'Krams.' During the Dogra rule they performed the duty of a Chowkidar, a revenue carrier and an official messenger. Hassan has described them supreme in deceit and shamelessness. Trafficking in woman and prostitution was their main vocation.

22. *Hanji:* They are classified into three sub-groups. Hassan described them as proverbial in baseness, ill tempered, cruel and unparalleled in deceit, fraud and trickery. Group one is of *Bachha* Hanjis who carried corn and firewood in their big boats to the city. They are not as shameless as other two groups. The second group is those of fishermen. They are considered more base and crude. Third group is formed by the *Donga Hanjis*. Hassan describes them, "the most mean, shameless and ill tempered. Day and night their tongues vomit out filth. Trafficking in women is common among them. They are not ashamed of offering their daughters and wives. For their vices the *Dombas* and *Hanjis* of Kashmir are known the world

over." We cannot dispute with the observations of the learned historian of Kashmir but the present state of the Hanji's does not provide us with any kind of dark picture of their character. They are now the most respectable class of citizens and have amassed great wealth and property. The ever-progressing tourist industry has changed them beyond recognition and have been socially as well as morally elivated.

23. *Galvan*: It is almost an extinct community. They used to rear and steal the horses. Colonel Mian Singh punished them for stealing of horses by cutting their noses and ears. Gulab Singh imprisoned them for a long time.

24. *Chopan*: They rear the cattle in upper pastures. In theft and fraud they used to be the partners of Galvans and entered into matrimonial alliances with them.

25. *Bhagat*: They are professional dancers and entertain people by music and dance. Hassan states that they do not consider the Homo-sexuality a vice.

26. *Kanjar*: It is not a caste but one who resorts to this profession is called as such.

27. *Paradooz*: They came from the Punjab and settled down here. In the time of Sultans they got converted to Islam.

28. *Chuhur*: They are the descendants of *Bambos* from Punjab. Although converted but still they eat Jatka.

29. *Saiydmakar*: They are fradulent people of lowly birth but pretend to be the genuine Syyeds. They generally beg from door to door.

30. *Wattal*: " They are subdivided into *Mochewattal* and *Shupwattal*. They are Muslims by religion. But the Shupwattals had the custom of eating the corpses of the animals and have faith in their 'Pir', 'Lall Beg' and have some customs different from the Sunni Muslims. But, nevertheless, they declare themselves to be Muslims.

Mochee Wattals are almost strict Muslims following the same customs as are followed by the Zamindars."[13]

8   Zat

5. *Zat:* All kinds of surnames in Kashmir are called either *Kram* or *Zat*. Dr. Madan writing about the *Zat* says, the important question is what does *Zat* denote? Apparently it points to birth, as does the well-known word *Jati* elsewhere among the Hindus. The Kashmiris use the word Zat in a broader sense, however, to connote essence or inherent nature. *Bad-Zat* is a term of abuse and is used to condemn an evil-natured person rather than to refer to lowly birth, which would seem to be the primary meaning in the original Arabic-Persian. Similarly, Kashmiri Muslims refer to God as *Zat-i-Pak*, the one whose nature is pure. *Zat* is also used in classifying breeds of cattle or varieties of inanimate objects, such as paddy or timber. Gould mentions a similar use of the term *Jati* among villagers in eastern Uttar Pradesh. 'One also speaks of *Jatis* of...animals...of botanical objects, etc'.[14]

Eglar is quoted to report from the Punjab in Pakistan : "When a mature person is asked about his *Zat*, which means caste and also identity, he is most likely to answer : 'what identity can a human being have? The only one who has an identity is the Almighty...I am a carpenter (or *Zamindar*, or *barber*, or this or that) by occupation' ".[15]

Professor Gascoigne states that an interesting use of the word *Zat* appears to have been made in Mughal administration, a mansabdar, or noble, was accorded a double rank. The Zat rank, so called, apparently gave recognition to an individual's social status, and his salary was determined in terms of it.[16]

When used as a part of a person's name, *Zat* has the narrower meaning of either birth (e.g., *Syyid*, *Shaikh*) or hereditary occupation (e.g., *Khar*, *Navid*, *Gurr*). It does not, however, necessarily indicate a persons actual

source of livelihood: a family of any occupational category may have enough land not to want to exercise their traditional calling, or, a particular individual may choose to enter a new occupation. These facts are ascertained by inquiring about *Kar*, a general term for work or occupation, or about *Kasab*, skills. Barth has recorded an identical use of these two terms among the Swat Pathans, who, however, use *quom* for caste status.[17] It may be noted, however that people rarely move from one skilled or specialist occupation to another, though agriculture is deemed to be open to all. Agriculturists are called Zamindar (*Greesie*) and non-agriculturists artisan groups are designated *Nangar* literally those in search of bread.[18]

6. *Change of Surname:* Both Hassan and Lawrence as well as other prominent writers have looked down upon the process of changing ones *Kram* name. It's contemptuous tone becomes more audible when they refer to the so-called low caste and base people adopting the so-called honourable and exalted surnames. To quote Lawrence the men of low occupations are arrogating high sounding names. Thus of late years *Dums* of Kashmir have steadily assumed the *Kram* of Ganai, to the annoyance of original Ganais. To make matters worse, the gardeners and butchers have also taken a fancy to the Kram name Ganai. The boatmen of Kashmir have seized on the name of Dar as a patent or respectability, and Musalmans of other Krams are now annoying the Ganais and the Dar's by asserting that they were originally *Dums* and boatmen. . . The barbers of the valley do not aim so high as the butchers and boatmen, and have contented themselves with appropriating the Kram of *Thakur*; but there is nothing to prevent Abdullah, the Dum, calling himself Abdullah Pandit if he choose. At first people would laugh, but after a time if Abdullah Pandit prospered, his descendants would exhibit a lengthy pedigree table tracing their family back to one of the petty Rajas, Lord of three villages and possessor of a fort, the ruins of which still stand in Abdullah Pandits village.

7. *Determination of Nobility:* Hassan has expressed his anxiety over the loss of nobility in Kashmir due to a number of reasons. He points out that the determination of nobility, due to unscrupulous stealing of others *Kram*, as well as earning of wealth and property by low caste people, has been rendered a difficult job. He states that Kashmiri Muslims do not pay full attention to the preservation of their heredity records with the result with the passage of time and under various circumstances their lineage becomes corrupt and that meanness is converted into nobility. A few reasons may be ascribed to it. In the first place, anybody whose family is able to attain material prosperity for a couple of generations is accepted as a noble family. If under changing circumstances one loses his material status so as to become poor and destitute he is considered a mean and a lowly person. It, therefore, may be said that the nobility in Kashmir has the meaning in terms of material possessions and baseness is directly related with poverty and affliction. This phenomenon of riches and poverty, however, is not peculiar to Kashmir only. It is, as a matter of fact, free from the bondages of space and time. Hundreds of years passed when Bharathari, a celebrated Sanskrit poet, echoed the same sentiments in a poetic language, as Hassan has done. He said:

यस्यास्तिवित्तं स नरः कुलीनः, स पण्डितः
स श्रुतिमान् गुणज्ञः ।

स एव वक्ता स च दर्शनीयः
सर्वे गुणाः काञ्चनमाश्रयन्ति ॥

He who has wealth is believed to have the bluest blood running in his veins. He is taken for a scholar. He passes for the most well informed. He is considered to be the most discriminate. His power of speech is praised as unequalled. And his figure is described as the most handsome. It is gold in his possession that settles the quality of every one of his attributes.[19]

Secondly, any body adopting artisanship, as the means of livelihood, like carpentary, massonry, weaving etc., would forthwith lose his nobility. Anybody engaging himself in literary persuits would naturally come under the category of nobles.

Thirdly, some lowly groups of people like *Dombs* and *Hanjis* would adopt surreptitiously titles like *Syyeds*, *Ganai*, *Sheikh*, etc., so as to be taken among nobles after one or two generations.

Fourthly, in olden days, the wits in Kashmir conferred upon some people such titles and appendages as would mean to be little or satire them, which in Kashmiri means *Rechh* (nickname). Nobody would be left without a nickname, drawn from wild animals, birds, reptiles, insects or virtues and vices of the persons. In this way a nickname persisted in a certain clan or family permanently, effecting the original and the real sur name. This has made it difficult to determine the nobility or baseness of the people of Kashmir. However, in villages the clan and tribe names continue to be intact.

Fifthly, some people have made themselves known by the locality they dwelt in. Such names include *Pakhlival*, *Kawosa*, *Ishbari*, etc.

Sixthly, a dwindling fortune has compelled many a *Syyids* to take up to the tilling of land as their profession and lost their titles. They also entered into matrimonial aliances with the Zamindars. This is how the identification of real castes has become a difficult job in Kashmir.

8. *Fatwa:* Stealing and clandestine borrowing of surnames has been viewed seriously by the *Ulma* and the religious leaders of Muslims. *Srinagar Times* of 18.8.1979 published a religious verdict on the stealing of surnames. It reads as follows, "It appears a child's play to steal a surname. To prevent this malpractice the 'Fatwa' (verdict) of (*i*) *Sadar Mufti* Jallaluddin which is based on the Holy Quran, *Hadis* and tradition is reproduced here in excerpts from the '*Nasab Ka Jalat Intisab*'. A person who has messed up his surname with

that of some one else has denied his real parentage. In other words, he has since the time of the change of surname illegitimised his birth and effected a break with his ancestry. (*ii*) The greatest jurist of Islam Hazrat Umar Faroq who taught the world the niceties of law has declared the stealer of surname as an infiddle and, has, therefore, rejected his evidence. Hazrat Faroq Adil has observed that one who has given a false evidence or whose surname is doubtful deserves the severest punishment. He has further remarked that one whose surname has become doubtful as a result of not his own actions but those of some one else must receive highest social punishment. Contrarywise that ill-fated man who is personally responsible for obliteration of his surname is the criminal and sinner of highest degree. (*iii*) The punishment for changing the surname according to the prophet is the fire of hell. He has declared that the stealer of surname deserves Allah's condemnation. (*iv*) Islam regards strict adherence to one's 'Zat and Nasal' (race and surname), family and tribe absolutely right in the eyes of God and deviation from any of these has been severely rejected. . ."

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APPENDIX 1

*Specimen personal names (male) of medieval and ancient Kashmir**

Abhinanda
Abhinavagupta (950-1020 A.D.)
Adyanatha (n.d.)
Alankara (100-1150 A.D.)
Ananda (1525-1575 A.D.)
Ananda (1650-1700 A.D.)
Anandavardhana (850-900 A.D.)
Arcatta (850-900 A.D.)
Argata (n.d.)
Avantivarmana (n.d.)
Avtara (1600-1650 A.D.)
Bhagavatta Amrtadatta (1325-1375 A.D.)
Bhaskara (1000-1050 A.D.)
Bhaskara Kantha (1675-1750 A.D.)
Bhamacha (675-725 A.D.)
Bhatta Lattana (1025-75 A.D.)
Bhatta Mallata (n.d.)
Bhattopala (1650-1700 A.D.)
Bhatta Tanta (950-980 A.D.)
Bhattenduraja (930-980 A.D.)
Bilhana (1050-1100 A.D.)
Bhumaka (650-700 A.D.)
Cakrapala (850-900 A.D.)
Manima Bhatta (1000-1050 A.D.)
Mammatta (1050-1100 A.D.)
Mankha (110-1150 A.D.)
Matrgupta (100-50 B.C.)
Candraka (100-125 A.D.)
Damodara Gupta (75-800 A.D.) .
Dharmasoka (50-100 A.D.)
Dharmottaracary (825-850 A.D.)
Gananda (200-240 A.D.)
Ghantaka (925-975 A.D.)
Gopaditya (5th Century B.C.)
Harsata (930-980 A.D.)
Jagaddhara (1350-1400 A.D.)
Jalhana (1100-1150 A.D.)
Jonaraja (1400-1450 A.D.)
Jayadratna (1200-1250 A.D.)
Jayanaka (1150-1200 A.D.)

Jayapida (n.d.)
Jayaratha (1200-1250 A.D.)
Kalasa (1050-1100 A.D.)
Kalhana (1000-1150 A.D.)
Kamlakar (1600-1650 A.D.)
Kanaka (1250-1300 A.D.)
Koka (n.d.)
Kritidhara (925-975 A.D.)
Ksemendra (1025-1075 A.D.)
Kuntala or Kuntaka (975-1025AD)
Lalla (1300-1350 A.D.)
Kaukika (1250-1300 A.D.)
Lollatta (850-925 A.D.)
Somadeva (1025-1100 A.D.)
Srivara (1450-1500 A.D.)
Syamala (n.d.)
Tikakara (925-975 A.D.)
Muktapida (699-735 A.D.)
Mukhta Kana (850-900 A.D.)
Mukulabhatta (850-900 A.D.)
Mentha (450-500 A.D.)
Pratiharenduraja (930-980 A.D.)
Prajya Bhatta (1525-1575 A.D.)
Pravarsena (60 B.C. to 20 A.D.)
Punyanandanatha (n.d.)
Ralhana (n.d.)
Ranaditya (100-160 A.D.)
Ratnakantha (1675-1725 A.D.)
Ratnakara Vagisvara (850-900 A.D.)
Rudrabhatta (825-875 A.D.)
Rudrata (825-875 A.D.)
Ruyyaka (1129-1175 A.D.)
Sambhu (1075-1125 A.D.)
Sankuka (925-975 A.D.)
Sarangadeva (1200-1250 A.D.)
Sidha Gorakhnatha (n.d.)
Sitikantha (1475-1525 A.D.)
Sivasvami (850-900 A.D.)
Sivopadhyaya (1775-1800 A.D.)
Sobhakaramitra (1500-1575 A.D.)
Tilaka (1100-1125 A.D.)

Udbhata (750-800 A.D.)
Vallabhadeva (1450-1500 A.D.)
Vallata (950-1000 A.D.)
Vamana (750-800 A.D.)
Vardarala (1500-1550 A.D.)

Vasudeva (1150-1200 A.D.)
Vidyaranyayati (n.d.)
Vijaypala (n.d.)
Yahsaka (1225-1250 A.D.)
Yasakara (n.d)

* Selected from Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit literature by T. S. Nagarajan.

APPENDIX 2

Specimen personal names (female) of medieval and ancient Kashmir*

Ambikaputrika (*viii*. 1648)
Amrtalekha (*ii*. 148)
Anangalekha (*iii*. 484)
Anjana (*iii*. 105)
Asamati (*vii*. 1487)
Bappatadevi (*v*. 282)
Bappika (*vii*. 1128)
Bhinna (*iii*, 464)
Bhuvanamati (*vii*. 582)
Bijja (*viii*. 3343)
Biljala (*viii*. 287)
Bimba (*iii*. 482)
Cakramardika (*iv*. 213)
Candala (*vii*. 1121)
Candravati (*i*. 321)
Candri (*vii*. 1490)
Cinta (*viii*. 3352)
Devalekha (*viii*. 1443)
Didda (*vi*. 177)
Dilha (*vii*. 331)
Gagga (*v*. 251)
Gajja (*vii*. 1380)
Gunadevi (*iv*. 696)
Gunalekha (*viii*. 459)
Hamsi (*v*. 360)
Indradevi (*iii*. 13)
Iravati (*i*. 218)
Nanda (*v*. 245)
Narendraprabha (*iv*. 17)
Nona (*viii*. 3061)
Nonika (*vii*. 481)
Isnadevi (*iv*. 212)
Jajjala (*viii*. 1444)
Jayadevi (*iv*. 690)

Jayalaksmi (*vii*. 124)
Jayamati (*vii*. 1460)
Kalhanika (*viii* 1648)
Kalyanadevi (*v*. 41)
Kamala (*iv*. 424)
Kamalavati (*iv*. 208)
Kavyadevi (*v*. 41)
Kayya (*vii*. 725)
Khadana (*iii*. 14)
Ksema (*vii*. 102)
Khillika (*v*. 290)
Kumudalekha (*vii*. 1486)
Lothika (*vii*. 11)
Malla (*viii*. 445)
Mamma (*iv*. 400)
Mammanika (*vii*. 724)
Manjarika (*iv*. 399)
Mankhana (*vii*. 105)
Meghavali (*iv*. 689)
Menila (*viii*. 3380)
Mrgavati (*v*. 284)
Naga (*vii*. 293)
Nagalata (*v*. 360)
Nagalekha (*viii*. 1649)
Sulla (*viii*. 248)
Surendravati (*v*. 266)
Suryamati (*vii*. 152)
Sussala (*viii*. 2410)
Padmalekha (*viii*. 1844)
Padmasri (*vii*. 731)
Padmavati (*iii*. 383)
Parakasadevi (*iv*. 79)
Raddadevi (*viii*. 3241)
Rajalaksmi (*viii*. 459)

Rajyasri (*viii*. 3399)
Ramalekha (*vii*. 250)
Ramanya (*i*. 263)
Ranarambha (*iii*. 391)
Ratnadevi (*viii*. 2402)
Ratnaprabha (*iii*. 379)
Ratnavali (*iii*. 476)
Ratta (*iv*. 152)
Sahja (*vii*. 674)
Sambavati (*v*. 296)
Samma (*iii*. 14)
Sarada (*vii*. 1823)
Sill (*viii*. 1069)
Somaladevi (*viii*. 1923)
Srilekha (*vii*. 123)

Subhata (*vii*. 180)
Sugala (*vii*. 685)
Sugandha (*v*. 157)
Suyya (*v*. 74)
Sveta (*viii*. 373)
Tejaladina (*viii*. 107)
Udda (*vii*. 481)
Valga (*vi*. 308)
Vallabha (*vii*. 1486)
Vimalaprabha (*iii*. 384)
Valga (*vi*. 308)
Vallabha (*vii*. 1486)
Yasomati (*viii*. 3408)
Yasovati (*i*. 70)
Yukadevi (*iii*. 11)

* Selected from Kalhana's Rajatarangini by R. S. Pandit.

APPENDIX 3

I. Few Exclusive GOR Surnames

1.	Bayoo	20.	Khoda
2.	Chandar	21.	Kumedan
3.	Changoo	22.	Langoo
4.	Chintaman	23.	Lotu
5.	Choka	24.	Mandal
6.	Datta	25.	Nasee
7.	Dora	26.	Panzoo
8.	Gadva	27.	Picha
9.	Ganz	28.	Pind
10.	Geer	29.	Revo
11.	Handu	30.	Rogu
12.	Jatoo	31.	Sedha
13.	Kali	32.	Shal
14.	Kalla	33.	Sharma
15.	Kampasee	34.	Thojnu
16.	Kanna	35.	Vachali
17.	Khankhoo	36.	Yechh
18.	Kharu	37.	Zoru
19.	Khobaru	38.	Zadoo

II. Few exclusive Bohra Surnames

1. Bindroo
2. Bandhari
3. Chapori
4. Chota
5. Hori
6. Japoo
7. Kapoor
8. Kath
9. Khah
10. Ledoo
11. Mantoo
12. Matho
13. Nadroo
14. Nathu
15. Puri
16. Suri
17. Tandon
18. Zatoo

APPENDIX 4

I. Few Common Surnames of Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims

1. Akhoon
2. Bhat
3. Chakoo
4. Durrani
5. Kachroo
6. Kaloo
7. Kanna
8. Kaul
9. Kaw
10. Khan
11. Khar
12. Khoda
13. Kichloo
14. Machama
15. Mantoo
16. Mirza'
17. Padar
18. Parimoo
19. Pandit
20. Peer
21. Punjabi
22. Raina
23. Rishi
24. Shal
25. Teng
26. Vakil
27. Vani
28. Wantoo
29. Warikoo

II. Few Exclusive Kashmiri Muslim Surnames

1. Aetu
2. Ahangar
3. Andrabee
4. Ashai
5. Bacha
6. Bande
7. Beg
8. Burza
9. Daina
10. Dangar
11. Dar
12. Dariyal
13. Drangai
14. Faroqi
15. Ganai
16. Gandroo
17. Hagroo
18. Kara
19. Kashani
20. Khande
21. Kirmani
22. Lall
23. Lavai
24. Lone
25. Mahraza
26. Makhdoomi

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27. Malik
28. Mir
29. Monda
30. Naik
31. Nengroo
32. Pala
33. Parcha
34. Paray

35. Qadiri
36. Qurashi
37. Rah
38. Rafiqi
39. Rathar
40. Sofi
41. Tantri

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Born in village Akoura of Anantnag (Kashmir) in 1942, Shri R. K. Koul had his early education from the Mattan High School and passed his Intermediate and B.A. Examinations, respectively from S.P. College, Srinagar and Govt. Degree College, Anantnag.

R. K. Koul is a professional Librarian having received his training from Vikram University, Ujjain and Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. He has published about two dozen research papers on Library Science in the prestigious journals of the country. His already published book viz., 'Indic Names: a documentation list' has had an enthusiastic reception in academic circles. His forthcoming books include 'Bhattas: then and now'; 'Challenges of School Librarianship', and 'Aborigines of Kashmir.'

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